

ALEXANDRE G. MITCHELL

GREEK VASE-PAINTING AND THE ORIGINS OF VISUAL HUMOUR



CAMBRIDGE

GREEK VASE-PAINTING AND THE ORIGINS OF VISUAL HUMOUR

This book is a comprehensive study of visual humour in ancient Greece, with special emphasis on works created in Athens and Boeotia. Alexandre G. Mitchell brings an interdisciplinary approach to this topic, combining theories and methods of art history, archaeology, and classics with the anthropology of humour, and thereby establishing new ways of looking at art and visual humour in particular. Understanding what visual humour was to the ancients and how it functioned as a tool of social cohesion is only one facet of this study. Mitchell also focuses on the social truths that his study of humour unveils: democracy and freedom of expression; politics and religion; Greek vases and trends in fashion; market-driven production; proper and improper behaviour; popular versus elite culture; carnival in situ; and the place of women, foreigners, workers, and labourers within the Greek city. Richly illustrated with more than 140 drawings and photographs, as well as with analytical tables of comic representations according to different themes, painters, and techniques, this study amply documents the comic representations that formed an important part of ancient Greek visual language from the sixth through the fourth centuries BC.

A scholar of Greek art and archaeology, Dr. Alexandre G. Mitchell is an Honorary Research Associate at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51370-8 - Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour

Alexandre G. Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour



ALEXANDRE G. MITCHELL

University of Oxford



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-51370-8 - Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour
 Alexandre G. Mitchell
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
 São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA
www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521513708

© Alexandre G. Mitchell 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
 permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
 Mitchell, Alexandre G. (Alexandre Guillaume), 1974–
 Greek vase-painting and the origins of visual humour / Alexandre G. Mitchell.
 p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-51370-8 (Hardback)

1. Vase-painting, Greek. 2. Wit and humour, Pictorial.

3. Art and society – Greece. I. Title.

NK4645.M62 2009

741.5'938-dc22 2008050635

ISBN 978-0-521-51370-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
 accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in
 this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is,
 or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51370-8 - Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour

Alexandre G. Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

À Lila, ma fille au doux sourire

Amis lecteurs, qui ce livre lisez,
Despouillez-vous de toute affection,
Et, le lisant, ne vous scandalisez:
Il ne contient mal ne infection.
Vray est qu'icy peu de perfection
Vous apprendrez, sinon en cas de rire,
Aultre argument ne peut mon cueur élire,
Voyant le dueil qui vous mine et consomme,
Mieux est de ris que de larmes escripre,
Pour ce que rire est le propre de l'homme.

(Rabelais, frontispice to *Gargantua* 1534)

Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
List of Tables	xv
Preface	xvii
Acknowledgements	xxi
Abbreviations	xxiii
ONE	
Introduction	I
TWO	
Humour in the City: The World of Men, Women, and Animals	36
THREE	
Humour in the City: Gods, Heroes, and Myth	95
FOUR	
Satyrs and Comic Parody	150
FIVE	
Caricatures in Athens and at the Kabirion Sanctuary in Boeotia	235
vii	

CONTENTS

SIX

Conclusion: Vases, Humour, and Society
280

Glossary

317

Bibliography

321

Index of Vases Cited in the Text

345

General Index

357

List of Illustrations

1. Olpe, Attic BF, Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 8.3379; Painter of the Jena Kaineus. *page* 31
2. Chous, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E539; Deepdene Painter. 32
3. Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2.1073. 33
4. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E44; Signed Euphronios Epoiesen; Onesimos. 34
5. Attic BF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1970.99; Nikosthenes Potter. 38
6. Cup, Chalcidian BF, Copenhagen, National Museum. 42
7. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31d; Oltos. 42
- 8a–8b. Cup, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.651; Amasis Painter. 44
9. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.83; Oltos. 46
10. Chous, Attic, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.237. 49
11. Pyxis, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2517; Painter of Bologna 417. 50
12. Chous, Attic, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2505. 51
- 13–14. Pelike, Boeotian RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2347. 52–53
15. Askos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 539. 54
16. Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16552; Painter of Bologna 417. 55
17. Pelike, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico, 72732. 56
18. Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E202; Washing Painter. 59
19. Northampton Amphora, Ionian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 586. 61
20. Chous, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.11.19. 65
21. Hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421; Phintias. 67

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

22. Cup, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R279; Princeton Painter. 69
23. Stamnos, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.37; Deepdene Painter. 70
24. Hydria, Attic RF, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 11117; Berlin Painter. 73
25. Hydria, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R346. 75
- 26a–26b. Skyphos, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.304. 76
27. Lekythos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1922.10–18.1; Oinophile Painter. 77
28. Skyphos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31c. 80
29. Pelike, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 20065; Myson. 81
30. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E819; Hasselmann Painter. 82
31. Cup, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1423; Chaire Painter. 83
32. Oinochoe, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1981.173; Manner of the Triptolemos Painter. 84
33. Skyphos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 520; Epiktetos. 88
34. Cup, Attic RF, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 16908. 88
35. Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 17286. 89
36. Cup, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R259; Scheurleer Painter. 91
37. Pelike, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal, 37.1031; Painter of Munich 2358. 92
38. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E387; manner of Washing Painter. 93
39. Neck-amphora fr., Attic BF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 13440; Painter of London B76. 97
40. Chalcidian amphora, Pembroke and Hope (Once); 550–540 BC. 98
41. Hydria, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2422; Kleophrades Painter. 100
42. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Res.08.30.a; Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter. 100
43. Oinochoe, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16535; Heimarmene Painter. 101
44. Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G535; Barclay Painter. 104
45. Askos, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1984.457. 105
46. Volute-krater, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209; Kleitias and Ergotimos. 107

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

74. Skyphos, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 1943; Zephyros Painter. 157
75. Askos, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum, 198897. 160
76. Hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2422; Phintias. 161
77. Skyphos, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 834; Penelope Painter. 161
78. Kyathos, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1952. 163
79. Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1964.4; Nikosthenes Painter. 164
80. Nikosthenic Neck-Amphora, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R388; Nikosthenes Painter. 165
81. Neck-Amphora, Attic BF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 64.52; Nikosthenes Potter. 167
82. Plate, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 509; Epiktetos. 168
83. Cup, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, V651; Skythes. 170
84. Pelike, Attic RF, Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure, 1150. 171
85. Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G222; Harrow Painter. 172
86. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E377; Deepdene Painter. 175
87. Lekythos, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 2564; Phiale Painter. 176
88. Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA3456; Epiktetos. 177
89. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E3; Epiktetos. 178
90. Kyathos, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 848; Onesimos. 179
91. Skyphos, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2588; Penelope Painter. 179
92. Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G70; Scheurleer Painter. 180
93. Pelike, Attic RF, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum, ZV2535; Alkimachos Painter. 183
94. Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1962.33; Altamura Painter. 185
95. Amphora, Attic BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC9; Dot-Ivy Group. 185
96. Oinochoe fr., Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.229.13; Harrow Painter. 187
97. Column-Krater, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2381; Nikoxenos Painter. 187
98. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8024; Makron. 189

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

99. Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G73; Manner of Scheurleer Painter. 190
100. Skyphos, Attic RF, Habana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, R79-1011; Lewis Painter. 192
101. Pelike, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3228. 194
102. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 62.613; Manner of the Antiphon Painter. 196
103. Column-krater, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E487; Flying-Angel Painter. 198
104. Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2592. 199
105. Lekythos, Attic RF, New York market (Once), Royal Athena; Manner of Bowdoin Painter. 201
106. Fr., Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, E114; Meidias Painter. 203
107. Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA493. 204
108. Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Private collection (BA 2725). 205
109. Cup, Attic BF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum. 206
110. Volute-krater, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81673; Pronomos Painter. 210
111. Psykter, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A1312. 213
112. Volute-krater, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209; Klitias and Ergotimos. 215
113. Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1728; CL Class. 221
114. Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E181; Pan Painter. 222
115. Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 76.46; Charmides Painter. 226
116. Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Lisbon, Foundation Gulbenkian, 682; Group of Polygnotos. 227
117. Calyx-krater, Lucanian RF, London, British Museum, 1947.7-14.8. 228
118. Skyphos, Attic BF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 343; Group of Walter 48.42. 229
119. Oinochoe, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B502; Athena Painter. 230
120. Lekythos, Attic BF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, S101294; Manner of Sappho Painter. 233
121. Aryballos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2183; Clinic Painter. 237
122. Pelike, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1621; Washing Painter. 240
123. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E6; Pheidippos. 242

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

124. Papyrus, London, British Museum, 10016. 245
125. Askos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G610. 246
126. Skyphos, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Municipal, 37.1034; Amphitrite Painter. 247
127. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3186. 255
128. Bell-krater, Attic RF, Reading, Reading Museum and Art Gallery, 45.VIII.1; Meleager Painter. 256
129. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 190. 257
130. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10426. 259
131. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3179. 262
132. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 301. 262
133. Cup, Boeotian BF, Leiden, K94/9, 15. 264
134. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10530. 265
135. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 426. 266
136. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P217. 267
137. Pyxis, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1920.12-21.1; Marlay Painter. 268
138. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 424. 269
139. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3159. 270
140. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.533. 271
141. Kabirion skyphos, Boeotian BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G249 (V262). 272
142. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, British Museum, 1893.3-3.1. 273
143. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10429. 275

List of Tables

1.	Laughter and humour	<i>page 8</i>	
2.	Theories on humour and laughter	9	
3.	Black-figure shape distribution of comic vases cited in the text		281
4.	Red-figure shape distribution of comic vases cited in the text		281
5.	Black- and red-figure types of humour, and number of vases cited in the text		282
6A.	Black-figure comic painters	283	
6B.	Red-figure comic painters	287	
6C.	Red-figure themes and comic painters	294	
7.	Black-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of everyday life in the city	307	
8.	Black-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of canonical mythological scenes	307	
9.	Red-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of everyday life in the city		308
10.	Red-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of mythological scenes		309
11.	Herakles in humorous scenes	312	
12.	Herakles bringing the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus		312
13.	Return of Hephaistos drunk to the Olympus	312	

Preface

What is a study of ancient visual humour? It is an archaeology of humour, a study of humorous artefacts, rather than verbal humour. My intention is to attempt to recover ancient Greek visual humour, and as far as possible, its social context. It is also an archaeology of knowledge: taken as a metaphor, it is the logical unlayering of strata of meaning and rubbish, of twists and turns in order to recover some social truths deformed by humour. In Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose* (1982), a Benedictine monk is terrified by Aristotle's apology of humour in the second book of his *Poetics*. The book is now lost, and this is probably a good riddance. A few sentences on humour by Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintillian have somehow formalised the way ancient humour is studied, and their influence is still palpable within each new theory on humour. Luckily, we have always had Aristophanes and many humorous passages in Greek literature to counter-balance these theoreticians. Visual humour offers yet another way to study ancient Greek humour and, by extension, ancient Greek society. By further extension, it may help us retrace some of our own categories of thought. The concluding chapter on humour as a means of social cohesion also deals with the issue of freedom of expression and with the special relationship between humour and democracy.

I first had the idea of studying visual humour in ancient Greece in 1995 for my master's degree at the University of Strasbourg under the supervision of Prof. Gérard Siebert.¹ I chose this subject because as a student of classics and archaeology I could not believe that, in the world populated by Aristophanes and his many followers, the visual arts did not express similar forms of humour. I could not believe that all was serious, well-balanced, aesthetically pleasing, and stony white in ancient Greek art. Hopefully, the reader will feel the same way after reading this book.

Apart from the methodological problems inherent to any study of humour – how to categorise humour when it plays with the very fabric of categories – a major challenge has been the difficulty in writing for a number of different readers. It is intended to be

¹ Mitchell, A. G. (1996) *L'Expression du Comique dans la Peinture de Vases Attique à Figures Rouges, de l'Époque des Pionniers à la Fin du Ve Siècle*, Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université des Sciences Humaines, Strasbourg. This was followed in 1997 by a longer version of the same work, *L'Expression du Comique dans la Peinture de Vases Attique du Vie Siècle à la Fin du Ve Siècle*, Mémoire de D.E.A. d'archéologie, Université des Sciences Humaines, Strasbourg.

PREFACE

read by classical archaeologists and classicists in the first instance, but hopefully parts of this book will appeal to scholars from other disciplines, such as humour scholars, anthropologists, psychologists, and philologists. They will find a short glossary of technical words and Greek terms at the end of the book. All Greek is transcribed into Roman lettering. Similarly, mini-biographies of mythological heroes at various stages of the book are written with a mixed audience in mind. I have tried to keep them as short as possible, but may I remind my colleagues that not every scholar knows what Peleus was doing up a tree on Mount Pelion.²

Humour specialists must forgive me for the absence of a general theory of ancient visual humour. My focus was first on putting the corpus together among thousands of 'serious' pieces, second on analysing how the transgressions of visual codes functioned, and third on using visual humour, just like the tricked mirror of ancient stage comedy, to penetrate one step further into the ancient Greek psyche. For the sake of scholarship, one cannot afford to crack jokes in a study on humour: it would be an ontological mistake, but I have tried as far as possible to avoid writing a dour, heavy-handed book.

The core of Chapters 2 to 4, which cover the Athenian material evidence, is based on my Oxford doctoral dissertation (Mitchell 2002). I have published some passages from this section in an article on ancient Greek humour (Mitchell 2004). The second part of Chapter 5, on the Kabirion, is loosely based on my doctoral dissertation as well as on three papers.³

Most vases referred to in this book were chosen among a greater number that I have been cataloguing in an *Access* database for almost a decade. I publish here and refer to either comical 'one-offs' or comical 'heads of series', not entire series. To get a rough idea of the numbers of comic vases that can make up a series, plates 12 and 13 display my database figures for two series.

More than one hundred figures in this book are drawings, and many of these are my own, accurate, painstaking vectorised drawings, often much clearer than photographs. The historiography of drawing antiquities is well known,⁴ and vectorised drawing – drawing directly in digital form using a tablet and vectorised drawing software, where each line in the drawing is an individual trait that can be transformed at a later date – is the latest development of this drawing tradition. A first drawing is made freehand at museums, and photographs are taken. I later draw each vase within two to three days on the computer in a vectorised format using the software Adobe Illustrator. A typically modern advantage of these layered drawings in comparison to the beautiful and highly accurate drawings published by Karl Reichhold at the turn of the century is that my

² Rome, Villa Giulia, 24247. See also oinochoe, Attic BF white-ground, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 46.11.7; (BA 320454), ABV 434.3, *Add.* 111, *Para* 187; ABFH, fig. 230. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of London B620; 550–530 BC. See further, Chapter 3, Section 1.

³ 28/03/2003: 'Les Canthares du Cabirion Thébain: Déformations Corporelles, Caricature et Problèmes de Style', University of Fribourg, Switzerland; *Symposium sur le Corps et ses Différences*, 21/02/2006: University of Sheffield, Centre for Bakhtinian research; 'A Reconstruction of Greek Carnival at the Kabirion Sanctuary in Ancient Boeotia', 21/03/2006: 'The Archaeology of Humour: A Case Study', Institute of Archaeology, University College London. *Complex and Literature Societies Seminar Series*.

⁴ For an introduction to the history and challenges of drawing ancient Greek vases in the modern age, see von Bothmer, 'Beazley's Berlin Painter' in Kurtz 1983: 6–8.

PREFACE

drawings can be reprinted without any loss of quality and crispness, from the size of a book to the side of a building.

Vase references are found only once in the footnotes. When a vase is referred to more than once in the text, it can be found through the index of vases listed by museum at the end of the volume (where alternative inventory numbers are given between brackets and Roman numerals ix–xiv refer to the list of illustrations). I give the figure number in between brackets (fig. 1).

Example:

Neck-Amphora, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R302 (BA 213557), ARV¹ 1044.7; CVA, Belgium 2, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2, pl. 7.3, pl. 8.5. Epimedes Painter; 460–440 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the museum.

Vase entries work in the following way: pot shape, regional fabric and technique (RF = Red Figure, BF = Black Figure), city, collection, collection no; Beazley Archive reference (BA #),¹ Beazley reference if any,² a choice of previous publications of the vase; provenance of the vase when it is known; attribution to a painter (by signature, by Beazley or other scholars); approximate dates (usually based on stylistic evidence). Copyright details (if it is a museum photograph, I thank it as required; there are eighty-eight vectorised drawings and ten line drawings of my own and a number of personal photographs; when a drawing or photograph is scanned from a publication that is out-of-copyright, I write *scanned after*).

I refer to the Boeotian vases from the Kabirion Sanctuary (see Chapter 5) in the following way: KH 4.67.413 = KH 1.99K14, pl. 51.1–2. KH stands for *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*; 1 or 4 to the volume number; 67, 99 as the page number; 413, K14 as the respective catalogue numbers in these volumes; and then the plate number(s) and figure(s). See the list of abbreviations below.

An uninitiated reader will find sentences such as ‘on an Athenian cup in Berlin’ rather disconcerting. This is, however, the easiest way to refer to a cup that was produced in Athens but may have been found in a variety of archaeological contexts. The latter can be as disparate as Spain, the south of France, Italy, Sicily, Greece, Libya, Egypt, and further east than the region of the Black Sea. The vases are then bought and sold over and over from the seventeenth century until today. Nowadays, Greek vases are kept in collections as famous as the British Museum or the Louvre, or as exotic as Habana in Cuba or Christ Church in New Zealand. To sum up, the easiest way to refer to a vase is to refer to its last ‘resting place’.³

Thirteen tables found throughout the book display the body of comical scenes under various thematic arrangements: by painter, by technique, by hero, and so forth. The numbers and statistics found in the tables should be considered a rough estimate of the situation, not precise statistics.

¹ BA stands for Beazley Archive Database, from the Beazley Archive in Oxford, which is the authority in terms of stylistic and other classification of Athenian vases.

² See the abbreviation list for the Beazley references (ABV, ARV², *Add.*, *Pana.*, *Add.*) and other abbreviations such as CVA and ABL.

³ See index of vases cited in the text by museum. Further issues relating to the provenance and the chronology of the vases are discussed in Chapter 1.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on research undertaken for my doctoral thesis (1999–2002) under the supervision of Dr. D. C. Kurtz, whose guidance is gratefully acknowledged. The research has progressed in many different directions while I was a Research Assistant at the Beazley Archive in Oxford, then a lecturer at the Classics Department at the University of Reading, and since then as an Honorary Research Associate at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford (2005–9) as well as a Visiting Scholar at the Faculty of Classics in Cambridge (2008–9). I am grateful to Wolfson College's Senior Tutor for agreeing to replace my first computer in 1999 (I have burned out five since then), and the Oxford Craven Committee for granting me the funds to travel to Berlin and Rome museums between 1999 and 2002. I would like to thank Dr. Michael Vickers from the Ashmolean Museum for his scholarly time and generosity with regards to photographs from vases in his collection. In the same way, V. Slehofer, curator from Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig; Maria Rosa Figueiredo, chief curator from the Gulbenkian museum in Lisbon; Dr. Alexandra Villing from the British Museum; Natasha Massar and Cécile Evers from the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels. I am grateful to a number of scholars who have been kind enough to discuss with me various aspects of my work. In Oxford: Prof. Em. J. Boardman for his continuous support and all iconographical aspects of Greek vases and numerous other suggestions; Prof. O. Taplin for discussions on comic matters; Prof. M. Vickers for discussing various aspects of the ancient Greek market; Prof. R. R. R. Smith for his support and talks about ancient material culture; Prof. M. Moret from the University of Lyon and Prof. Em. Schachter for their friendship and encouragement in pursuing research at the Kabirion sanctuary in central Greece. In Cambridge, Prof. R. Osborne for sharing some of his larger perspectives on the Greek world. Prof. F. Lissarrague (E. H. E. Paris) for discussions on various 'satyric' aspects of my work. Prof. G. Hedreen from Williams College (US) for his friendship, support, and many conversations on the Dionsysian world. To my former supervisor in Strasbourg, Prof. Em. G. Siebert, *mon cher maître, pour sa fêrle bienveillante, ses encouragements et son aide précieuse durant mes études à Strasbourg*. Special thanks to my parents and my brother for their support throughout my studies even though they thought I was going 'potty', and especially to my father for proofreading both my thesis and a draft of this book. Thanks to J. Eskenazi and M. Ragazzi for their friendship and support. I would

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51370-8 - Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour

Alexandre G. Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

like to thank the Kress Foundation for funding the publication of the many illustrations needed for this book. Apologies to the many readers in libraries and researchers in storage rooms in so many museums whom I must have disturbed at times when laughing at yet another comic representation. Finally, Julia Shaw, without whose love, support, and discussions on the greater contexts of humour this book would not have seen the day.

Abbreviations

I include a short list of abbreviations. The ancient sources are abbreviated in the text and follow the Liddel, Scott, Jones *Lexicon*, and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations of journals are those of the *Année Philologique*.

ABV	Beazley, J. D. (1956). <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> . Oxford: OUP.
ABFH	Boardman, J. (1991). <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases Handbook</i> . London, Thames & Hudson.
ABL	Haspels, C. (1936). <i>Attic Black-figured Lekythoi</i> . Paris.
ARV ²	Beazley, J. D. (1963). <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2nd edn. Oxford: OUP.
Add	Burn, L. and Glynn, R. (1982). <i>Beazley Addenda</i> . Oxford: OUP.
Add ²	Carpenter, T. H., Mannack, T., and Mendonca, M. (1989). <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2nd edn. Oxford: OUP.
ARFH I	Boardman, J. (1987). <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases Handbook, The Archaic Period</i> . London: Thames & Hudson.
ARFH II	Boardman, J. (1989). <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases Handbook, The Classical Period</i> . London: Thames & Hudson.
(BA #)	Oxford, Beazley Archive (BA) Database number.
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
EGVP	Boardman, J. (1998). <i>Early Greek Vase Painting, 11th–6th Centuries B.C., A Handbook</i> . London: Thames & Hudson.
KH 1	Wolters, P. and Bruns, G. (1940). <i>Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben 1</i> . Berlin.
KH 2	Heyder, W. and Mallwitz, A. (1978). <i>Die Bauten im Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben</i> . Berlin.
KH 3	Heimberg, U. (1982). <i>Die Keramik des Kabirions</i> . Berlin.
KH 4	Braun, K. and Haevernick, T. E. (1981). <i>Bemalte Keramik und Glas aus den Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben</i> . Berlin.
KH 5	Schmaltz, B. (1980). <i>Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben</i> . Berlin.
KH 6	Schmaltz, B. (1980). <i>Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben</i> . Berlin.

ABBREVIATIONS

LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Munich, Zurich, Düsseldorf.
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>Para</i>	Beazley, J. D. (1971). <i>Paralipomena; Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . Oxford: OUP.
RFVSI	Trendall, A. D. (1989). <i>Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily. A Handbook</i> . London: Thames & Hudson.
RVAp	Cambitoglou, A. and Trendal, A. D. (1979, 1982). <i>The Red-figured Vases of Apulia</i> . Vols. 1–2. Oxford: OUP.
RVP	Trendall, A. D. (1987). <i>The Red-figured Vases of Paestum</i> . British School at Rome.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-51370-8 - Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour

Alexandre G. Mitchell

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

GREEK VASE-PAINTING AND THE ORIGINS OF
VISUAL HUMOUR



Introduction

We rushed onto him with a shout, and threw our arms around him; but the old man had not forgotten his crafty ways. No, at first he turned into a bearded lion, and then into a snake, and a leopard, and a huge boar; then he turned into flowing water, and into a tree, high and leafy; but we held on unflinchingly with a resolute heart. But, when at last that old man, skilled in pernicious arts, grew weary, then he questioned me and spoke.¹

Humour, just like Proteus, can take on many shapes, jumping erratically from one form into another, from parody into caricature, from puns into situation comedy. But if one struggles with it long enough, it will in the end, as Proteus did, deliver some truths and sometimes even insights into the human psyche. Most anthropologists and historians know that a writer, or indeed anyone who chooses to mock something or someone, reveals more about himself than about the object of his mockery. The visual jokes tell us something about rules of behaviour, about the differences between the public and the private sphere, about gender differences, ethnicity, politics, beauty and deformity, buying patterns, fashion, perceptions of religion and myth. It often tells us what people really thought and experienced. This book fits in the framework of the 'rediscovered' cultural historical trend in archaeology. Current theory is in its post-processual stage, where for many archaeologists, like Ian Morris, 'Archaeology is cultural history or it is nothing'.² Classical archaeologists have often been at odds with the radical theoretical changes in archaeology because of the vast amount of literary and epigraphic evidence available to us, and utterly absent from other forms of archaeology, which have had to formulate new theoretical models to tackle their lack of other forms of evidence than archaeological. Numerous scholars have discussed these prickly issues, and some, such as Shanks, have even tried in recent years to put together a 'social archaeology' adapted from its prehistoric model to classical archaeology. It is an exciting stage in theoretical archaeology,

¹ Hom. Od. 4.455–61: Menelaus recalling his encounter with Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, the metamorphic seer.

² Morris, I. (2000) *Archaeology as Cultural History (Social Archaeology)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 3. Shanks, M. (1996) *Classical Archaeology of Greece: Experiences of the Discipline*. London and New York: Routledge, ch. 5.

and I for one am glad that we are back in the world of cultural history with a better anthropological grip on who we are to better understand what we observe.

This book concerns ancient Greek pottery production, visual and material culture in a set time and place. Aristophanes must have found his match among Greek vase-painters. Archaic and classical Greek art can no longer be solely considered for its beauty, its serious mythological or daily-life scenes. Painters used to mock every aspect of both ranges of representations. Painters were no censors, but they may have tried at times to improve the Polis, as Aristophanes claimed to do. This study focuses mainly on the social function of humour, in that it both includes and excludes people. Ultimately, even if humour is used to exclude some individuals, it promotes the social cohesion of society as a whole.

There are so many theories on laughter and verbal humour. This book is the first comprehensive study of visual humour in ancient Greece that encompasses mechanisms (surprise, incongruity, displacement), techniques (caricature, parody), and genres (visual puns, parody, situation comedy). I also show how literary evidence is not opposed to visual evidence: it is simply not sacrosanct. The need to compare images to images prior to comparing them to literary evidence is stressed in various parts of the book. When one encounters irregularities or eccentricities in vase-paintings, rather than turning for an explanation to literary evidence, it is crucial to rely on visual comparison and interpretation as one's first resource. They may need to be understood as humorous pictures. Vase-painting is made of complex visual codes, and these incongruous, surprising, and often comical pictures can only be properly understood through comparison to and contrast with the more 'usual' pictures.

I am particularly interested in humour's capacity to transgress and reassert iconographical and social norms. The study of humour illuminates aspects of social exclusion as well as inclusion. By observing humorous scenes depicted on hundreds of Greek vases, we are told what painters and customers from most social classes laughed about in ancient Greece and what the socially accepted rules of behaviour were at the time.

The reason for choosing specifically Greek vases as my dataset is the number of well-preserved artefacts, in the hundreds of thousands,¹ and the immense variety of representations in comparison to any other form of ancient art, and the fact that it was not commissioned art but a cheap product mainly produced for the market-place. This implies that artisans who painted vases exercised a greater freedom of expression, within the rules of fashion and market, than artists working for a patron in sculpture or wall-painting. Why study humour on vases? It would provide a better knowledge of visual humour in antiquity for scholars in humour studies, ancient art, and archaeology. Humour reveals a man's strengths and his weaknesses, his fears and his triumphs, his desires and his distastes, his obedience, his duties, and his unruly behaviour to society's rules. Adapt this principle to an entire society through a medium shared by most citizens and suddenly many social 'truths' may need to be reassessed.

¹ Undecorated vases and objects made of baked clay, from statuettes to beehives, are found in even greater numbers.

Athenian vases in the sixth and fifth centuries BC were ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean. They were mass-produced in the hundreds of thousands, and often decorated with great care, with an amazing range of representations of every aspect of daily life and mythology. This was particular to Athens. Tens of thousands of Corinthian vases were produced in the seventh and sixth centuries but show very few instances of humour if any.⁴ Why was Athens such a special centre for the production of vases? There were a number of circumstances that made this possible: an abundance of suitable clay, a specialised knowledge, built up over centuries, in competition with other cities such as Corinth. The reason why visual humour was particularly an Athenian tradition was because there was space for freedom of expression and unruliness in daily life only within democracy!⁵ The Athenians were independently minded people in a society where people could, to a certain extent, think for themselves: they produced the first fully democratic society.⁶ Laconian (Spartan) vase-painting is a prolific medium, but it does not produce any visual humour. Spartans were not renowned for their sense of humour but more for their martial attitude to life, however much their society strived to attain a form of egalitarianism. Humour, as in most places, was probably present in Spartans' words, gestures, and thoughts, but the absence of freedom of expression is enough to explain the lack of humour in Laconian visual culture but also in many others city-states.

The study of visual humour is also the study of painters, the different styles of caricature, the successful visual humorists and the dull ones. There are many critics of Beazley's methodology in the attribution of unsigned Greek vases to individual painters. Nevertheless, his system of attribution is still the best we have in order to classify the immense corpus of Athenian vase-painting. Interestingly, although I have studied the comedy of representations with a deliberate disregard to stylistic attribution, some of 'Beazley's painters', like the Nikoxenos Painter and the Pan Painter, were evidently more interested in producing humorous scenes than others.⁷

One must be prepared to set aside preconceptions and biases about ancient art and accept the possibility that a vase-painter in antiquity was capable of making a joke in his work! Once this 'fact' is accepted, it is only a small step to obtaining a simple, elegant, and satisfactory solution to the interpretation of a large number of pictures. In this light, many such pictures need to be reassessed and reinterpreted. For example, the 'apotropaic' interpretation of eye-cups should be abandoned. The representation of women in vase-painting (an art practised mainly by males in a male-dominated society) is, in many respects, more complex than previously thought: not only do we see women shopping or

⁴ Among the few potential exceptions, see the late seventh, early sixth century BC Corinthian phiale mesomphalos found in Perachora and now at the British School in Athens showing Hephaistos's return (Seeberg 1965: pl. XXIIIa). See maybe the incongruous little ape (?) tied up in the lower frieze of the 'Macmillan Aryballos', Protocorinthian, London, British Museum, GR1889.4.18.1; Williams, D. (1999) *Greek Vases*. London: The British Museum Press: 41, fig. 29. From Greece, Thebes; 650–640 BC. Compare to Amasis's Schimmel Cup: Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.281.62; (BA 350483); *Para* 67; (1987) *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World*. Malibu: 71, fig. 10. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Amasis; 540–525 BC.

⁵ See Chapter 6, 'Freedom of Expression'.

⁶ There may have been earlier forms of democracies, or more precisely oligarchies, in Mesopotamia, but they have had no incidence on later inhabitants of this region.

⁷ See further, Tables 6A–B.

selling food and wine at the market, but respectable wives gulp wine as they walk from the cellar to their husband's symposium, and we see them gossiping at the fountain place instead of fetching water. On the other hand, it is sometimes simpler: 'sexist jokes' flourished in vase-painting, as they did in Aristophanes' writings and at the Agora. The comic treatment of foreigners reveals an Athenian-centrism, which we know quite well from textual evidence but is verified in visual representations. While satyr plays can broaden our knowledge of ancient humour, satyrs, and their uses in the Greek psyche, they are *not* useful to explain the presence of satyrs in unusual scenes in vase-paintings.

In 1874, Buss (Lambourne 1992: 9) wrote:

Had caricature and photography existed in past centuries, how delighted should we be to behold an Alexander, a Nero, a Caesar, or any other be-praised blood-shedder of public liberty, transfixed by the etching-needle of a Gillray or a Cruikshank! Without civil and religious liberty, joined to an unshackled press, caricature cannot exist; thus it becomes, by its free exercise, a sure exponent of the degree of freedom enjoyed in any country.

There was no mass-media portraiture in archaic and classical Greece, and only coinage would fit the bill in the later Hellenistic and Roman period. We may not possess a caricature of Pericles or Alexander, but we find ancient Greek caricatures of every other unnamed men and women from slaves to aristocrats, athletes to priests and servants! We may not have a caricature of the great men of the time, but we have parodies of every god that was worshipped in Athens. Caricature did exist in ancient Greece and probably because of its 'civil' and 'religious' liberty: it was a free exercise to the extent that democracy and a cheap media such as clay vases made it possible. Even though vase-paintings are often exquisitely wrought, whether the finest Athenian or Theban vases, they were not considered to be great objects of art in antiquity.

The vases were much more common than we would like to think: if most people could afford them, the humour shows that Greeks believed in upholding as well as mocking their own values, and that vases could have the same function of exposure of the private life in public as the theatre. One is always in awe when imagining Aristophanes' *Frogs* in its original setting: Dionysos is ridiculed on stage, during the *Dionysia*, in the theatre of Dionysos, with the 'priests' of Dionysos in the front row. But the *Dionysia* was a special time, a religious feast and a time of carnival, during which everything could be turned upside-down. In contrast, the vases on which gods were ridiculed or gently mocked were artefacts of everyday life. The parody of hermaic pillars or of gods do not seem to have provoked censorship.

Most Greek visual humour, notwithstanding the numerous exceptions shown in this book, is eminently social: it is based on the loss of control, on the confusion between public and private view, and on the ridicule of exaggerated bodily needs: sexual humour, mocking men's and women's maddening desire for sex or greediness, mocking their huge appetite for food and wine. Satyrs go that extra mile, and when a man is shown looking desperately into an amphora to see if any wine is left, the satyr has already jumped head first into the krater. The centrality of satyrs in visual humour is dealt with at different stages of this book. They were used by painters to parody mythological

topoi in vase-painting, but, in the realm of the Polis, they also mocked 'religion', politics, and ethical conduct. In a way, they were used as an escape mechanism from a conservative way of life and offered a world of fantasy where 'living is easy'. Satyrs were used by painters as an excuse for iconographical play. This is especially true in visual puns, where the objects of ridicule are none other than the rules and codes of imagery themselves.

The exaggeration that is mocked in humans is the satyr's nature. This mockery is intended to make the viewer laugh at series of representations of unbecoming behaviour: one can laugh because no one is personally accused – as far as I can observe – and it is in the realm of representation, like the theatre, a safe space that involves the viewer taking some distance from the subject of the representation and where one can laugh at practically anything. There is, in humour, a temporary loss of emotion and fear of society's rules. In a similar way, the reason why caricatured bodies are funny is, of course, because of their comparison to 'body-beautiful-conscious' Greeks. This mockery is possibly also based on their fear of decrepitude and death because of the Greek bleak view of the afterlife.

Athenian humour has an eminent position because we have more vases with a greater range of representations from Athens than from any other Greek city, and we have more archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence than any other city.⁸ The Boeotian Kabirion is important for the study of a potential carnival in a specific context, to understand what may have happened in Dionysian rituals linked to agrarian festivities, for the study of caricature in ancient representations, and different styles of caricature, and to realise that every aspect of daily life, whether it is walking one's dog, transporting amphorae, sacrificing at the local hermaic pillar, attending a wedding ceremony, and many myths, local and Panhellenic, could be ruthlessly mocked. This caricaturing was probably produced for the 'greater good' and the purpose of carnival.

The gravest danger in the study of humour is to laugh from ignorance. We have at least two literary references to this problem already in antiquity: according to Semos of Delos, cited by Athenaeus (14.614a–b), a Parmeniskos of Metapontum stood laughing at the sight of an old wooden cult statue (*xoanon*) of the goddess Leto on the island of Delos (Bruneau 1970: 209, fn. 4). Centuries had passed since it had first been sculpted and, although it was still revered at the time of Parmeniskos, it must have been well-worn through the passage of time. Parmeniskos laughed because in his eyes the statue was grotesque. He felt superior to the former inhabitants of Delos who ridiculously worshipped an absurd representation of a god. Ignorance of another's culture can be the starting point of laughter.

The other reference is in Herodotus: 'and he [Cambyzes] entered the temple of Hephaistos [in Egypt] and burst into laughter in front of the statue' (3.37). The same reasoning is applicable here: Herodotus goes on to explain in the same paragraph that Cambyzes, the Persian conqueror, laughed at this statue because 'This image of Hephaistos is most like the Phoenician Pataikoi [the Egyptian god Ptah], which the Phoenicians carry on the prows of their triremes. I will describe it for anyone who has not seen these

⁸ See, however, work on humour in Greek contexts other than Athens: Hansen (1976) on Pithecan humour, Miralles (1987) on Sardonic laughter, and David (1989) on laughter in Spartan society.

figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf'. Cambyzes laughed because the statue was grotesque in his eyes. This tells us that Cambyzes did not know that these images were not produced to make people laugh: he laughs out of ignorance. It also tells us that dwarfs were ridiculous in his society in comparison to well-proportioned individuals. In his eyes, a cult statue should be bold and beautiful, awe-inspiring and dignified. So either a god was being degraded or the people of this land revered ridiculous gods. Either way, humour here is tied to a feeling of Persian superiority over 'ridiculous' Egyptians.⁹

In this investigation of humour in vase-painting, there is a genuine risk of over-interpreting objects. The memory of Greek culture has faded with time, and we possess only its vestiges. But we have some context and references in the remarkable plays of Aristophanes, which amount to an ancient Greek humour bible, and the gigantic literature on Aristophanes, which offers innumerable insights into ancient Greek humour. The famous *Philogelos*,¹⁰ a book of ancient jokes, is also useful in that it gives us similar jokes to the ones one can buy from any newsagent or to those that we find in crackers at British Christmas dinners.

The social and religious taboos have changed since then. The reference points were different. The rules of behaviour were set in a shame-culture where the division between public and private life seems practically inflexible. Nevertheless, the genres, the techniques, and the mechanisms of visual humour appear to have changed very little. There are so many vases that have survived the ages that, through careful comparison, it is possible to differentiate an image intended to be comical from a 'serious' one.

The book is divided into six chapters. After a quick review of the various approaches to humour (terminology, general theories of humour), the current introductory chapter focuses on specific principles relevant to the study of visual humour in this book. It covers basic notions about Greek vases (connoisseurship, provenance, chronology), past scholarship on Greek visual humour, investigative methodology, and finally visual humour categories (visual puns, caricature, parody, and situation comedy).

Chapters 2 to 5 cover the material evidence and its analysis. Chapter 2 concerns the 'all-rounded' humour in the city space. I choose to analyse visual humour in a 'Greek way', gradually, from inanimate objects, to animals, women, foreigners, deformity, men's improper behaviour; Chapter 3 focuses on mocking heroes and gods, and Chapter 4 on how satyrs subvert citizen's values and actions, and how they parody heroes and gods in outrageous ways. Chapter 5 first discusses caricature in Athens and then a form of carnival in a religious setting, the Boeotian Kabirion Sanctuary. The second part on the Kabirion deals with traditional views, the site, an informed analysis of the caricatures found on vases at the site, and the identity of the god worshipped at the sanctuary.

Finally, Chapter 6 on Vases, Humour, and Society is a concluding chapter including further discussions on Greek vases (iconography, market, visual humour) and theoretical discussions on the power of humour as a means of social cohesion.

⁹ On humour in Herodotus, see Powell 1937 and Lateiner 1977. On this specific story: Munson, R. V. (1991) "The Madness of Cambyzes (Herodotus 3.16–38)". *Arethusa* 24.1: 43–65; Depuydt, L. (1995) "Murder in Memphis: The Story of Cambyzes's Mortal Wounding of the Apis Bull (ca. 523 BCE)". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 54.2: 119–26; Selden, D. L. (1999) "Cambyzes' Madness or the Reason of History". *MD* 42: 33–63.

¹⁰ Baldwin, B. (1983). trans. with commentary, *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover*. Amsterdam.

I. THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Terminology

The problems one encounters with humour theory begin with terminology. Humour is not the only way to 'arouse laughter': it can be brought about by many other stimuli than humour alone (Table 1). According to *The Oxford Dictionary*, humour is 'the faculty of perceiving what is ludicrous or amusing, or of expressing it in speech, writing, or other composition; jocose imagination or treatment of a subject'. I use the word *humour* in relation to laughter as a general term for any intellectual construction produced in order to arouse laughter. The word *humour* has a complex etymology, as it derives from the Latin *humores*, which corresponded to the four flows of humours in the body. This medical concept of *humor* was perpetuated throughout the Middle Ages and is still present in expressions such as 'bad humour' (bad temper). However, since the late seventeenth century, humour has come to embody all forms of the comic (Leacock 1937: 16). Later, in the eighteenth century, it was distinguished from 'wit' as being less purely intellectual (Morris 1744: 12). Wit belongs more to the German (*Witz*) and French traditions (*l'esprit*). The word *comic*, when used in the same sense as my definition of humour, is used predominantly in French (*le comique*). But it is a confusing term in English, as it is too close to words related to drama, such as 'a comic', a comic actor or stand-up comedian, or comedy, the performance of drama. This is why, although comedy or the comic can be used as comprehensive terms, and the words themselves come from the Greek *kōmos*, the revels associated with Dionysos, I prefer using the term humour. When I analyse visual humour, I use English words that convey a precise meaning, such as 'visual puns', 'situation comedy', 'caricature', and 'parody'. I develop each of these terms at the end of this chapter. Many words define the different kinds of laughter in Greek. There is a whole range of vocabulary from laughing (*gelaō*: I laugh), smiling (*meidiaō*: I smile), to bursting with laughter (*kagkazō*). The best review of Greek terms relating to laughter is by Eire (Desclos 2000: 13–43). According to Halliwell (1991b: 280), some sixty word-groups are directly pertinent. I will discuss some of these in context. As far as 'humour' was concerned in archaic and classical Greece, it seems that *to geloion* was commonly used to mean 'that which arouses laughter' or 'the laughable', as in a famous passage by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449a 33) 'that which arouses laughter [*to geloion*] is a mistake and a deformity'. In conclusion, let us define humour as the intellectual stimuli that provoke laughter because they have been intentionally prepared to this effect and perceived consciously to this effect.

*General Theories on Humour and General Confusion*¹¹

Every researcher who tries 'seriously' to analyse humour is confronted by the same obstacle: it resists being theorised. I used the comparison with Proteus in the general introduction because all one can do in the study of humour is set a few flexible notions and

¹¹ See Table 2.

Table 1. Laughter and humour

Laughter	Humour
Physiological effect	
<i>Non euphoric laughter</i>	
Conventional laughter, politeness, benevolence, disdain, provocation, rebellion, etc.	
<i>Euphoric laughter</i>	
A feeling of intense excitement and joy	
1. <i>Spontaneous</i>	
Euphoric state (laughter of joy)	
Pathological state (e.g. hysteria)	
2. <i>Provoked by a stimulus</i>	
a. Toxin (e.g. alcohol, drugs)	
b. Physical (e.g. tickling)	
c. Intellectual (laughter from humour)	Intellectual stimuli that provoke laughter because they have been intentionally designed for this effect and are perceived consciously.

categories and paradoxically use humour to understand something else than humour. As many have remarked since the time of Cicero, who wrote (*De or.* 2.235) 'let Democritus see what it is' (*viderit Democritus*), the quest to understand the *nature* of humour has been the domain of philosophers. If it is in the nature of scholars to order the objects of their study into neatly arranged categories, it is in the nature of humour to resist this, to produce disorder, to play with categories, to jump from one level of understanding to another. But even humour has its limitations as a disruptive process. Humour is a form of transgression, which also reveals the norms it has transgressed. As a general principle, the focus should be on what humour *reveals* rather than on attempting to define tidy categories. This book endeavours to understand the techniques of humour in ancient Greek visual art and its various social constructs.

Stimuli and physiological reaction seem to be confused by everyone even when we are aware of the fact. The simple fact of calling humour 'the laughable' should be sufficient proof. Humour is an intellectual construction whereas laughter is a physiological response. Often humour does not arouse laughter, and laughter is not necessarily provoked by humour: there are many possible causes for laughter.

A unanimous definition of the laughable does not exist among theorists on laughter, nor can they find even a tacit agreement on what arouses laughter. The general tendency in French and Italian scholarship is to define each type of humour, to divide and subdivide.¹² But the margins of each type are unclear, and one would think that, in some cases, several types of humour are so similar that they could fit into more than one category. British scholarship seems more pragmatic in its approach. The focus is not the nature of humour or laughter but what can be deduced from them: on power theories and social

¹² Escarpit 1987; Mauron 1964; Olbrechts-Tyteca 1974; Blondel 1988; Jardon 1988; Santarcangeli 1989; Emelina 1991; Smadja 1993; and Sangsue 1994.

INTRODUCTION

Table 2. Theories on humour and laughter

Theories on Laughter and Humour	Anthropology of Humour and Laughter
Physiological theory on laughter: tickling from Aristotle to Darwin	Social Laughter (Bergson 1905)
Psychology: Relief theory (Freud)	Joking relationships (Moreau 1944; Sykes 1966; Driessen 1997)
Linguistic theory	Ethnic stereotyping (Zenner 1970)
Therapeutic theory	Carnival and popular culture (Bakhtin 1970)
Didactic theory	The context of jokes (Castell 1977)
Philosophical theories	Rituals of welcome or exclusion (Dupréel 1985) and Theatrical rituals of laughter (Leclercq 1995)
<i>Superiority</i>	
Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Baudelaire	
<i>Surprise</i>	
Hobbes	
<i>Incongruity</i>	
Kant	

dynamics for example (Paton 1988; Paton, Powell, and Wagg 1996), all of which deepen our understanding of society but not of humour as such.¹³

Freud and others have put forward 'psychological' reasons for laughing, such as the incongruous or the inversion of the expected, or overlapping heterodox ideas or images. But these psychological reasons are really revealing some *mechanisms* of humour that provoke laughter, such as surprise or the unexpected, or the relief and resolution in laughter of an impossible choice between two overlapping ideas: they do not explain laughter.

Another 'unavoidable' confusion is between comic *genre*, *technique*, and *mechanisms*. Although the theoretical discussion on humour is a battlefield of varied opinions, it is likely that such generic things as genre, techniques, and mechanisms do not change over the course of centuries or from one culture to the next. 'Bathos' is a literary and a visual *genre*. In comparison to 'pathos', it is a form of the burlesque in which gods or heroes (powerful men) are ridiculed and comically debased in a multiplicity of ways. It often uses the *technique* of parody to do so. But parody is a *genre* in itself, so it can permeate two levels: *genre* and *technique*. The *technique* of 'caricature' is quite clearly an exaggeration of facial or bodily features. This can be used to enhance a parody or to mock a certain type of behaviour or physical defect, such as ugliness. A *genre* might include bathos and situation comedy, and a *technique*, such as caricature. Even then, some will consider caricature as a *genre*, not only a *technique*.¹⁴ One can also find a mixture of both *genre* and *technique* in parody and visual puns. Comic *mechanisms* are something different altogether: surprise, paradox, inversion, and simultaneity. They also give the impetus to jokes, whether verbal, written, or visual. It would be too repetitive to analyse visual representations on all three levels of *genres* (bathos, situation comedy, parody, visual puns), *technique* (caricature, parody, visual puns), and comic *mechanisms* (surprise, inversion,

¹³ On the psychology of laughter, see Tottenham 1927; Piddington 1933; Swabey 1961; and Orellana 1985.

¹⁴ See further in this chapter, under the heading 'Caricature'.

and simultaneity); but the reader must have some idea of the distinction between these various levels of understanding.

A distanciation from the object of one's study is a necessity in serious scholarship, including the search for humour. Yet the total absence of humour in the search for it would also be an error. It is one of those unusual subjects that cannot be observed with the same detachment as others. The object itself of the discussion – humour – would simply be overlooked.

Even if one puts aside for the moment the layout of each theory on humour, it is still difficult to organise the general theories satisfactorily among each other. Is Aristotle a physiologist because he discusses laughter produced by tickling, or is he a drama specialist who unravels some of the dramatic principles of humour in *Poetics*? Does one place him within the ancient world and chronologically before Cicero, Quintilian, and Kant, or with Darwin who discusses similar tickling problems? A number of humour and laughter specialists list chronologically four different kinds of theories on laughter: the moral, the intellectual, the psycho-physiological, and the social current. From a philosophical point, Defays (1996: 15–18) lists four philosophical theories on humour: first, the theory of the feeling of superiority (Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, Hobbes, Bain, and Bergson). The second theory consists in dangerous laughter (Plato). The third approach is the theory of exalted, regenerating, and triumphant laughter (Rabelais, Montaigne, Erasmus, Voltaire, Nietzsche, Bataille, Kierkegaard, and Jankelevitch). The fourth theory resides in contrast, in the incongruous and contradiction, which can be subdivided into three different forms: in the unexpected, the absurd, and in what Bergson called 'something mechanical encrusted upon the living' (Kant, Freud, Schopenhauer, Baudelaire, and Bergson). No need to say that this list of authors is overly artificial and, apart from Freud and Bergson, none of these authors have pondered methodically on humour.

There are three truths about this situation: the first is that all this chaos is engineered by humour itself, as it refuses to be pinned down; the second is that none of these theories are all-encompassing; and the third is that they are all useful in various ways. I will give first an overview of various theories that I will not draw upon directly but only here and there throughout the book. I will then lay out the principles that are useful for the current study.

The first theory on the physiological reasons for laughing is discussed by Aristotle. Some of the principles can be adapted to theories on humour. The distinction between physiological laughter and intellectual laughter based on humour was defined by Aristotle, who was interested in both aspects. Physiologically, Aristotle (*Pr.* 35.2) wondered: 'Why are we ticklish under the armpits and the soles? Is it not because the skin is thinner and because we are ticklish where we are not used to being touched?' He also wrote: 'man is the only animal capable of laughter' (*Part. an.* 673a8). These were two important observations, which were dealt with by Darwin in the late nineteenth century (1872: 131–2).¹⁵ We laugh when we are tickled in places where we are not used to being

¹⁵ There has been a huge amount of scientific research in physiological laughter since Darwin, of course. First and foremost, Provine, R. R. (2000) *Laughter, A Scientific Investigation*. New York: Penguin, especially 99–127. See also Claxton, G. (1975) 'Why Can't We Tickle Ourselves?'. *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 41: 335–8;

touched: it is unexpected or unusual. What is more, when children are tickled they only laugh when they feel safe. If we are touched or tickled and feel real danger, fear takes over laughter, and the tickling switches from a tension that requires relief in laughter to a desperate feeling of being overpowered against one's will. This can be connected to many other theories; for example, Kant's reasoning that laughter only occurs in the absence of all emotions (fear included). It also joins the psychological theory because we often laugh when we are surprised because we are intellectually stimulated in unexpected places ... of our mind. For instance, sexual taboos that we usually keep well hidden.

Aristotle's definition of the laughable fits well here, although its context is different: humour is 'a mistake and a deformity neither of which cause pain or destruction'. The deformity he is referring to is the masks, caricatured faces, used on stage; the fact that humour does not cause 'pain nor destruction' is interesting here as it reinforces our point that humour is often at its best in a safe environment. Aristophanes' humour has sometimes the effect of acid on his victims, as he mocks people, sometimes even by name, in front of the entire citizen body. But he does so in the safe environment of a carnivalesque time, a special and religious period outside of everyday life, the *Dionysia*. It remains unclear what to think about the context of torture: can one be tickled and so laugh to death? One would probably feel desperately itchy and express one's desperation in ways other than laughter.

The psychological theories on laughter and humour can refer to many things: it can be the mechanisms through which humour functions (Freud's theory on jokes and the unconscious), or the impetus that enhances or makes humour and laughter possible (surprise for example), but also the deeper reasons why we laugh, for instance the exposure of what is hidden. Surprise is often an important asset in humour: it is the phenomenon of being suddenly confronted with the unexpected. It is also incongruous: we laugh because we are held by two opposite meanings at the same time, and the unexpected meaning is suddenly chosen against the more common one. This is the phenomenon caused by the incongruous. This is explained by Freud (1905) in his works on jokes and word puns, and many other scholars since Freud interested in simultaneity, the subversion of subjective moral rules, and many other aspects of psychological humour.¹⁶ One can add to the many psychological aspects of humour, relief, and obscenity. We have already seen relief in the mechanism of the incongruous: two opposite meanings are solved in laughter. But relief can be also that of psychological pressure. Freud focused on well-hidden repressed feelings. We laugh at forbidden aspects of our lives that we are accustomed to spend inordinate amounts of energy and concentration keeping locked up. Laughter, here, is the feeling of relief when the pressure is released. We use obscenity to expose these hidden feelings. Some scholars, such as Richlin (1992), have used this knowledge to analyse the aggressive sexual humour on an individual and societal level in Roman culture. This is a very useful problem that will help to analyse the anthropology of humour

Friedlund, A. J. and Loftis, J. M. (1990) "Relations between Tickling and Humorous Laughter: Preliminary Support for the Darwin-Hecker Hypothesis". *Biological Psychology* 30: 141-50; Harris, C. R. (1999) "The Mystery of Ticklish Laughter". *American Scientist* 87: 344-51; Harris, C. R. and Christenfeld, N. (1997) "Humour, Tickle, and the Darwin-Hecker Hypothesis". *Cognition and Emotion* 11: 103-10.

¹⁶ See Hill (1993) and Szafran (1994) for recent work on the psychological theory of humour.

and carnival: social pressure is relieved through the carnival, which functions as a safety valve for the individual and society at certain special times of the year.

Most linguists have studied humour at one point or another in their research and have noted its fascinating linguistic 'behaviour'. There is a special linguistic fascination for word plays and how they bend tidy categories (Chiaro 1992). There are countless publications on humour and linguistics, whether it concerns discourse (Nash 1985) or semiotics (G. B. Milner 1972), with new linguistic theories on humour appearing every other year (Löffler-Laurian 1990). Attardo (1994) offers a good summary of linguistic theories up to the early 1990s, covering thematically discourse analysis, the relations between linguistic form and the content of humorous texts, history and criticism, and psycholinguistics. In a seminal paper, he researched the semantic foundation of cognitive theories of humour (1997).

There is much research in the medical uses of humour in therapy (Fry 1987). Most of the research is not necessarily in the positive effects of laughing: most efforts seem to focus on the escapist and relativistic virtues of humour that help patients to deal with stress (Lefcourt 1986), old age (H. Williams 1986; Solomon 1996; Mills 2002), suffering, to cope (Nezlek 2001) or even to avoid the reality of their terminal illness (Klein 1998).

In antiquity, humour as a didactic tool recalls Socrates' *irony*. It consisted, on the one hand, in pretending to know nothing and, on the other, in questioning those sophists who thought they knew so much. The didactic result was to show they knew nothing and that truth was to be sought elsewhere. There is also a distinct didactic humour in Old Comedy. Aristophanes often uses the *parabasis* in his plays to tell his spectators that through his art he is working towards a better Polis.¹⁷ Later on, numerous playwrights from Aristophanes to Molière and Brecht, all say the same thing: they are giving their audience a little advice on how to better themselves. This is what the sentence 'speaking the truth while laughing' means. On a more pragmatic level, there is some contemporary scholarship on the way humour is used in various aspects of education, whether to highlight some piece of knowledge and thus increasing the chances of better memorisation (Coleman 1992; Stopsy 1992; S. R. Schmidt 1994), or the relationship between humour and creativity in young school children (Courturier, Mansfield, and Gallagher 1981) or in adults (Ziv 1976).

A Few Principles Specifically Useful to this Study

Some recurrent principles in most humorous pictures are specifically useful for this book: subversion and revelation; comic relief; the feeling of superiority; the social function of humour.

First, the principles of *subversion and revelation*. To mock a powerful individual, a king for instance, one subverts his usual image and by so doing ridicules him; but by doing so, one re-affirms or 'reveals' his authority. A visual parody works in the same

¹⁷ See Hubbard (1991) on the importance of the *parabasis* in the study of Old Comedy and the relationship between stage and spectator.

way: although the serious model is transformed into a comic representation, for the joke to work, the viewer must recognise both the differences and the original representation. In the end, a parody pays homage to its serious model. To subvert is to reveal, not only the psychological rules of behaviour (fear of or struggle with authority) but the rules of imagery itself.

Second, the principle of *comic relief*. After sitting through three tragedies performed the same day during the Dionysian festival, what a 'comic relief' to watch a short burlesque satyr play mocking on stage a famous episode from Greek mythology. In a hierarchical society where public behaviour was scrutinised, there was much need for unruly behaviour during carnevalesque times and other times as well.¹⁸

Third, the principle of *the feeling of superiority* and the social function of humour.¹⁹ The pleasure in mocking a king is to feel superior to him, even if only for an instant. This has given rise to many theories over the centuries. In a shame-culture such as the Greek culture, the feeling of superiority is crucial to understanding many codes of behaviour. It is not limited to the City space (rich and poor, beautiful and ugly, men and women, etc.) but also to the outside world: the foreigner is easily mocked. Humour that arouses intellectual laughter is what Aristotle must have tried to define in the second book of *Poetics*, on Comedy.²⁰

The *feeling of superiority* is central to most humour theories. Plato and Aristotle consider that humour is a feeling of superiority and pleasure in the humiliation of the object of laughter. Plato also considers that excess, disorder, inadequacy, the absence of control, obscenity, indecency or disharmony, in whatever form, disrupt social norms. The people who belong to these categories are the peasants, the slaves, the entertainers, the madmen, and the children. They belong to the world of 'ugliness'. They represent a threat to the order and harmony of the City. On the other hand, Plato also says (*Resp.* 5.452a-b), in substance, that one should not fear the sneers of those who try to be witty: customs change with time, and that which used to seem shameful and ridiculous is not necessarily so today. He gives the example of male gymnastics in the nude, which, eventually, only shocked 'Barbarians'. Plato's views on laughter are paradoxically less significant than his use of humour in various rhetorical ways. As stated earlier, Socrates' irony (in

¹⁸ See Scheff, T. J. and Scheele, S. C. (1980) "Humor and Tension: The Effects of Comedy on Audiences", in *The Entertainment Functions of Television*. P. M. Tannenbaum (ed.) Syracuse, NY: Erlbaum; Scheff, T. J. and Bushnell, D. D. (1984) "A Theory of Catharsis". *Journal of Research in Personality* 18: 238-64; Nilsen, Don L. E. (1990) "Incongruity, Surprise, Tension, and Relief: Four Salient Features Associated with Humor". *Thalia: Studies in Literary Humor* 9.2: 22-7.

¹⁹ See further, Chapter 6 on the social function of humour.

²⁰ The *Tractatus Coislinianus* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Coislin, MS 120), which describes various categories of humour, is thought to have been inspired by texts of the late classical period (Aristotle?), even if it is a work of a much later period (perhaps the sixth century AD). Sections 5 to 7 of the *Tractatus* focus on the analysis of the laughable and section 17 on the quantitative parts of comedy. The manuscript, which once belonged to the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, ca. 1218, the sole source of the *Tractatus Coislinianus*, has been much discussed over the last century, but it is not the purpose of my study to decide if it is genuine, a later fabrication, or a mixture composed of different texts and ideas. As there is very little theory on humour in antiquity, no potential information should be discarded. R. Janko's book (1984) is a monumental study of the *Tractatus*. For coverage of ancient theories, see Grant 1924; Plebe 1952; and Arnould 1990. For modern theories, see Morreall 1983, 1987: 128-38 and Parkin 1997.

Greek *eirōn*: to ask), his questioning and faked ignorance when dealing with sophists he intends to ridicule by the end of the dialogue, is a didactic method that makes use of humour (Narcy 2000). In *Hippias Minor*, the conclusion of the dialogue is totally absurd. Plato may have had Socrates conduct such a ludicrous discussion to ridicule Hippias the sophist or for sheer amusement. Plato's irony may be directed at Socrates himself, especially his monologues disguised as dialogues, in which the other person involved merely replies: 'By Zeus, Socrates, it must be' or 'Yes, Socrates, it cannot be'. In *Gorgias* (505d8-9), Kallikles says to Socrates: 'But you, couldn't you continue the dialogue on your own, talking on behalf of yourself and replying to yourself?' Cicero (*De or.* 2.216-89) and Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 6.3.1-112) have also discussed the problems of humour, this time from a rhetorical point of view. Quintilian structures his study of laughter in five points: the nature of laughter, the cause of laughter (feeling of superiority, absurdity, deceived expectations), the force of laughter, the art of wit, and finally how to use wit (against others, against ourselves, with things in the middle). Ultimately, both Cicero's and Quintilian's works on humour are compilations of previous ideas (Viljamaa 1997: 90).

The laughter of 'superiority' occurs throughout history, but in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it is a primary mechanism of humour (Hewitt 1927; Lesky 1961; H. Clarke 1969; Levine 1983; Brown 1989). The Olympian gods' laughter was 'unquenchable': the expression appears for the first time after Thetis indirectly provoked a quarrel between Zeus and Hera (Hom. *Il.* 1.599). Hephaistos makes the angry gods laugh through his behaviour, not so much through his words. He serves wine to the gods. When they realise that the clumsy, hairy, and lame Hephaistos has taken over the function of the sweet Ganymede, the contrast and the incongruity are such that the whole assembly collapses in laughter, a laughter arising from the incongruity of Hephaistos's attitude. Although he is superior in divinity to both Ganymede and Hebe, he is without doubt inferior to them in grace. The gods laugh at his inferiority and at the whole situation. Hephaistos also arouses laughter in the episode of his wife Aphrodite's disloyalty with Ares (Hom. *Od.* 8.265-365): 'unquenchable laughter arose among the blessed gods' (Hom. *Od.* 8.326). The gods become human, and it is this loss of divinity that arouses laughter. In Hesiod, Zeus laughs at the punishment of Prometheus: he laughs at the inferiority of the presumptuous Prometheus who thought he could steal the divine fire from him and remain unscathed (Hes. *Op.* 59). Feelings of superiority are shared by many individuals. At almost every level of humanity and divinity, individuals or groups need to feel superior to others. If the gods laugh at other gods or heroes, the heroes themselves laugh at each other or at inferior men. Heroes are terrified by the 'enemies' laughter' (Hom. *Il.* 6.82) because their honour (*timē*) could be harmed by their enemies laughing at them. In a shame-culture such as the Greeks', it is not so surprising that laughter should be associated to honour or more precisely the loss of it. Victorious heroes laugh with triumph, for instance Alexandros after wounding Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* 11.378-9). This motif is also found in later periods. The well-known expression 'the enemies' laughter' (*gelōsi d'echthroī*) comes from fifth-century tragedy. Electra says: 'Our enemies laugh, and this mother who is not a mother is mad with joy' (Soph. *El.* 1153-4). Heroes laugh at inferior beings too. As a counterpoint to Hephaistos's situation (Hom. *Il.* 1.599), Odysseus and the

himself, as he is fascinated by a romanticised vision of evil like many other romantics.²² Probably unwittingly, Baudelaire is a follower of a scholastic tradition that saw laughter as an enemy of orthodoxy within the Church. This explains why laughter was forbidden in the Benedictan rule (Adkin 1987; Resnick 1987). Laughter was a sign of the devil, of he who goes against the divine and 'acceptable' order. It was a sign of disorder and chaos.

There are number of ways to approach the *social function of humour*. What is the place of humour in society? How does it reveal society's tensions, structure, codes of behaviour, and rituals? Bremmer (1997b) edited a fascinating book on the cultural history of humour, from Greek jokes and jokers to the jestbooks of early modern Europe, from Bakhtin's conception of laughter to the joking relationships of anthropologists.²³ As far as social humour is concerned, there seems to be a fundamental two-way dynamic: humour is used both to include and to exclude. Humour can be used by a large group against another large group, two subgroups inside one large group, and often by the larger of two subgroups against the other. These matters will be discussed at various stages of the book. Anthropological studies have focused mostly on *joking relationships* (Moreau 1944; Sykes 1966; Driessen 1997) as a tool of social cohesion and a way to distinguish groups in societies. Others have worked on the troublesome boundaries between various fields of research when studying humour and laughter (Apré 1983, 1985, 1988); others on the context of jokes (Castell 1977); and some fascinating studies have focused on ethnic stereotyping (Zenner 1970).²⁴ French anthropologists seem to have focused their research either on theatrical rituals of laughter (Leclercq 1995) or the rituals of welcoming or excluding laughter (Dupréel 1985).

Were there safer spaces than others for humour in ancient Greece? One thinks readily of the symposium and the theatre. Herodotus (2.173–4) describes how the Egyptian king Amasis answered to criticisms of the way he conducted his life. A man who would always want to be serious, without ever making a joke, would become, without realising it, either mad or a fool. He considers that there is a psychological need for banquet laughter. One must loosen the bow of serious tension because even 'Apollo does not always tighten his bow' (*neque semper arcum tendit Apollo*). This humour must be light and not insulting nor cause any pain: it is called *spoudo-geloios* (L. Giangrande 1972), a proof of humanity, culture, and courtesy. Although the word is found for the first time in Strabo (16. 2.29), it is useful to understand the old mixture of humour and respectability. Philipos, the entertainer (*bōmolochos* or *gelōtopoios* Pl. *Resp.* 10.620 c3) in Xenophon's *Banquet* (*Symp.* 13–16), is a 'parasite' who arouses playful laughter in exchange for food and drink. His provocative verbal jokes are never insults. He avoids exaggeration, which could lead to pain or to gratuitous offensiveness, *aselgeia*. *Aselgeia* is linked to mockery (*kertomia*) and insult (*loidoiria*). The Greek symposium has been thoroughly studied in

²² Baudelaire published *Les Fleurs du Mal* or *Flowers of Evil* in 1857. See also Petrus Borel, Théophile Gautier in his *Contes Fantastiques*, or Victor Hugo in *La Fin de Satan*, in Germany with E. T. A. Hoffman, *The Devil's Elixirs*, and, back in England, with Milton who transforms the Devil into an interesting romantic hero in his *Paradise Lost*.

²³ Sanders (1996) in his similar book insists on the role of the Church and humorous reactions to its overarching attitude and power.

²⁴ See further, Chapter 2, 'Treatment of Foreigners' and Chapter 6, 'Opposites do not Attract'.

many respects by a number of scholars, in its *realia*, iconography, and place in Greek social life (Murray 1990; Vienneis 1990; Lissarrague 1990a; Schäfer 1997). The symposium, which took place after dinner, was a time spent amongst men, drinking while reclining on couches, having discussions on both light and serious topics, dancing, and playing games. Discussions could be as cultured and high-spirited, as in the most famous of all banquets in Greek literature, Plato's *Banquet*, or lighter, with puns and jokes, as in Xenophon's *Banquet*. In the latter (*Symp.* 2.9–10), all the symposiasts are admiring the young female dancer, so Socrates tells them that they should teach their wives to dance for them. Consequently, Antisthenes asks Socrates why he does not apply such good ideas to his own wife, Xanthippe: 'She is the most disagreeable of all women of this era, and to my view, of women of the past and of the future'. Socrates answers that he married her on purpose: 'if I could put up with her, my relationship with the rest of humanity would be effortless'. The references to symposia, and humour during symposia, are numerous in Greek literature from Homer to Athenaeus, whose famous *Deipnosophists* dates from the third century AD. Authors such as Athenaeus and Aulus-Gellius not only directly report the activities of these Greek symposia, they also provide insight into the humorous atmosphere of drinking parties and illuminate various aspects of humour.

A number of sources refer to collections of jokes in the ancient world. These might have been part of the sympotic atmosphere. Plautus's characters quote at least twice such books. Philip of Macedon (Ath. 614d–e) had a collection produced for his amusement or maybe to further his 'Greek education'. We possess a collection of 256 jokes that dates probably to the fourth century AD: the *Philogelos* or *Laughter-lover*. The manuscripts do not date earlier than the eleventh century AD, as, for example, the manuscript in Paris, Cod. Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 690. In the most recent study of the text by Andreassi (2004),²⁵ the focus is on discourses on humour in the first instance, then on the authorship of the *Philogelos* and its date. The authors are Hierocles and the grammarian Philagrius. He dates the text to the late fourth century based on various comparative philological subtleties with the *Suda*, and various Latinisms. The last part of the book is a compilation of comparisons between jokes in the *Philogelos* and contemporary ones. Apart from a rapid study of 'ethnic jokes' where the *Philogelos* makes fun of Abderites, Kymeans, and Sidonians (Andreassi 2004: 51–4), he does not study the subverted social rules, codes of behaviour, or social dynamics that his intimate knowledge of this text might have made possible. I will refer to some of the jokes when commenting on certain representations on vases. Here are a few tasters. A young man was loved by two women, one with bad breath and the other with reeking armpits. The first woman said: 'Give me a kiss.' And the other: 'Embrace me.' But he said: 'Dear me, what should I do? I am torn between two evils!' (*Philogelos* 239). A misogynist was on his death bed. His wife says to him: 'If anything bad happens to you, I'll hang myself.' He looks up at her and answers: 'Do me that favour while I'm still alive.' (*Philogelos* 248).

The reason for a safe space is the vitriolic nature of humour. Were some aspects of humour forbidden in ancient Athens? Were there laws against humour? Plato writes against abuse and sarcasm (*Leg.* 935b–36c), and elsewhere (*Resp.* 3.388e–89a) he

²⁵ See also Rapp 1953; Thierfelder 1968; Baldwin 1983; Bremmer 1997a; Dawe 2000; and Jennings 2001.

disapproves of the laughter of the 'Guardians of the City' because of the importance of their social function. Laughter requires a public and generally people laugh together, but the 'Guardians of the City' must be set higher than other individuals and therefore should not be allowed to laugh with others. But were there real laws? A few Hellenistic commentaries on Aristophanes refer to decrees against 'slander by name' (*onomasti kōmōdein*).²⁶ The difficulty for later theatre theorists of the Hellenistic era was to explain the passage from Old Comedy to Middle Comedy. They often imagined rash decrees that would have limited or forbidden many aggressive forms of humour and led to the more *bourgeois* theatre of Menander. A famous scholia, at least among Aristophanes specialists, concerning Syrakosios's supposed decree against slander by name,²⁷ should not be overemphasized, and probably interpreted differently than Sommerstein (1986), as proposed by Halliwell (1991a). According to Halliwell (1991a: 55), these decrees would have been voted either during the Samian war, 440–437 BC,²⁸ or after the *Hermokopidai* in 415/414 BC (Ar. *Birds* 1297). Even if we admit their existence, these decrees were temporary measures, probably promoted to avoid offending allies of the Athenians during war-time, in the case of the Samian war, and to avoid naming the perpetrators of the *Hermokopidai* affair. The scarcity of these decrees implies that the ancient Athenians took a certain pleasure in a bolder form of humour, and that even if some types of slander were forbidden, especially against the state in certain official contexts, comedy was certainly not restrained during the annual festivals nor was it in everyday life.

The other safe space for outrageous humour is the realm of Old Comedy. It is also the main source used to elucidate what was ludicrous in the Greek archaic and classical periods and has given rise to an enormous literature.²⁹ The names of Epicharmos (Sicilian), Kratinos, Eupolis, Krates, Telekleides, and Pherekrates are known to us, but principally we read Aristophanes. The present work investigates humorous vase-paintings that range in date from the sixth century to the end of the fifth. Even if Aristophanes' plays were performed in the last quarter of the fifth and are closely connected to contemporary events, he is the only comic whose texts are preserved in any decent quantity. This may be the reason for his monopoly on humour, but his plays may also have been preserved because he was the most talented comic author of his time. Aristophanes was familiar with all levels of language, puns, double entendre, parody, and many other mechanisms of humour. His theatre is often described as a mirror of Greek society, as it reflected and deformed the lives, aspirations, and downfalls of those whom it was concerned with.

His comedies were performed at the *Dionysia* and *Lenaia*. These were sacred periods of the year, as were the *Phallophoria*, during which aggressive humour, insult, and abuse were permitted. What could be said of everyday humour during the non-carnavalesque periods, that is, most of the time? We would need other texts, but Aristophanes can and

²⁶ Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 67, 1150; *Clouds* 31; *Wasps* 1291.

²⁷ Ar. *Birds* 1297: 'mē kōmōdeisthai onomasiē tina'.

²⁸ Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 67; Suidas, s.v. 'Euthumenēs' 'the decree prohibiting comic ridicule passed under Morychides [440/439] was repealed'.

²⁹ Among the numerous scholars who have dedicated their lives to the study of Old Comedy, Carrière 1979, Reckford 1987, Hubbard 1991, Bowie 1993, Konstan 1995, and Macdowell 1995 have opened up different avenues to the subject.

must be used fully, keeping in mind that he exaggerates, abuses, and parodies on stage, and that people probably did not use humour in such a larger-than-life way in everyday Athens. Aristophanes, therefore, should not be seen as a 'god of humour' that should be followed blindly, but as the one and only author who provides most aspects of humour during the fifth century. Aristophanes invented a great diversity of puns and comic metaphors. There have been a number of collections of Aristophanes' puns and metaphors (Taillardat 1965), but Henderson (1975) has seen the broader picture, describing comprehensively the various ways in which obscenity was used in Aristophanes' plays.¹⁰ In favour of peace, he abused his public comically, although indirectly, in the hope that this aggression would sharpen their awareness of their fellow citizens' true intentions to cheat them of a more decent and pleasant life. From Aristophanes' plays, it seems that the public laughed at philosophers, sophists, ambassadors, politicians, slaves, peasants, merchants, workers in various trades, soldiers, sycophants, demagogues, and men and women's sexual desires. They laughed at scatological humour, paratragedy, the grotesque, and generally speaking at a vast diversity of comic situations. Aristophanes' plays are a crucial source for the understanding of humour and will be referred to often in the study of comic vase-paintings. One should always keep something in mind when using Aristophanes: with his plays, Aristophanes won many a competition. To be able to win, these plays had to satisfy the spectators who voted democratically for the best author. Thus, they tell us not only what the aristocracy laughed at, but most people in Athens, rich and poor alike.

If Greek comedy tells us a lot about ancient humour and about Greek society, visual humour provides a different perspective to literary accounts of humour. And, because of the nature of the objects, it can sometimes offer a rather different kind of information. For instance, Greek comedy was only produced at 'special' times (during the festival of the *Dionysia*) in a special fictional space (the theatre). Greek vases were produced throughout the year and were sold at the market-place, in public view, to be purchased by men or women for and from almost any household. This tells us a lot about the morals and social views of painters and their Athenian purchasers and what was permissible during 'normal' time, that is, during daily life. Also, to be purchased, the vases had to please most customers: in this view, vase and theatre production have similar goals.

This, of course, brings us to Bergson (1905) and Bakhtin's (1968) research on humour. Through his research on Rabelais, Bakhtin came about some very important facts about the feasts of fools (Bernstein 1983; Eco 1984; Gilhus 1990) and carnival. He realised that carnival had, at least in the Middle Ages, a function of social relief, almost a safety-valve in a hierarchical society with strict boundaries. Carnival was a temporary reversal of values, principles, and rules to give people time to breathe in a much-regulated society. The medieval carnival is well-known for its temporary lapse in logic, hierarchy, and social norms. The aspects of inversion and misrule (Korkhonen 1995: 193–4) are found in ancient Greece not only during special festivals but also, as will be evident from the present work in everyday life, on the most common representational media, vases. Henri Bergson is the only philosopher to have focused on humour and laughter long enough

¹⁰ See more recently Robson, J. (2006) *Humour, Obscenity and Aristophanes*. Drama Neue Serie 1. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

to enounce a theory on the subject. In many ways, his theory on social laughter is linked to former theories, such as the feeling of superiority. Valuable parallels could be made between what Bergson calls *le rire social* and the 'laughter of the enemies' in Greek society, a theme that underlies a number of comical texts since the *Iliad*. Rather than seeing laughter as an excluding ritual, he sees laughter as a reprimand, ridicule as a form of punishment, to set people back into the social ranks they belong to. His analysis of laughter is 'inclusive'. So, in a way, he firmly believes that humour and laughter reveal social hierarchies. His and Bakhtin's research enabled me to develop a clearer view of some mechanisms of laughter and the social aspects of humour, which are further developed in Chapter 6. It seems that the only consensus between most philosophers on humour is that it is something social. People laugh together. Even a lonely laugh implies a silent or a virtual public. If laughter is a social phenomenon, it can be explained through social reasons, and could also help to decipher social phenomena that still remain unclear. Other Bergsonian ideas, such as 'repetition', 'inversion', the 'reciprocal interference of series', and 'transposition' (*la répétition, l'inversion, l'interférence des séries, le décalage*), might also be useful to understand certain mechanisms in comic pictures.

2. GREEK VASES AND VISUAL HUMOUR

Humour is an eye-opener on social, class, or gender clashes, and offers an insight in power struggles at different levels. In the Greek context, where so much of our knowledge of ancient humour and what can be deciphered from the study of humour is based on literary evidence, at last visual evidence offers its own different and similar corpus. After a quick overview of connoisseurship, context, and chronology within the study of vase-painting, I will discuss past scholarship on visual humour and finally how to identify comic pictures.

Greek Vases: Connoisseurship, Context, and Chronology

Connoisseurship

The scholarship on Greek vases goes back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when they were first collected. The scholarship is therefore embedded in connoisseurship (Sparkes 1996: 34–63). By connoisseurship I mean the skill in attributing unsigned vases to known painters, based on style, the shape and its use (composition), ornaments, and iconography, which Beazley used with great care.¹¹ Even though the vases were

¹¹ Connoisseurship has almost become a rude word in academic circles. Having personally spent years drawing many vases, and most vases published in this very book, I understand both the need for connoisseurship and its serious limitations. I think that Boardman's response (2006: 137) is quite apt: 'We cannot know many things about antiquity but it has become easier, thanks to connoisseurship, to answer such questions about the painters than for most 'historical' figures of antiquity. These are no shadowy figures. One is bound to suspect that the motivation for the complaint quoted went beyond ignorance'.

made of clay, cheap to produce and mass produced, they are now in the fine-arts section of our museums. Clay was used for so many different practical objects. 'We are today so accustomed to a variety of different materials used to make containers (glass, plastic, metal, etc.) that it is interesting to be reminded how many were of clay in antiquity.' (Sparkes 1996: 85). There were many different vases, each produced for a given function – as far as we can tell from the representations on vases that show vases in use. Some were decorated, some were undecorated, and some were not even glazed. Some were used as *braseros*, some as cooking pots, some to drink, some to store products. Those that interest us are the glazed decorated type, in the black- and red-figure techniques. We have hundreds of thousands of the decorated types and many more of the undecorated, but no mention in Greek literature of any of the artisans who decorated either of them. In contrast, we have enough information about the artists who painted on walls and wood panels in Greek and Latin texts to reconstruct the history of art of this select art, but we hardly possess any remains of these perishable works of art. Clearly the Greeks themselves considered vase-painting to be an artisan's work and great painting an artist's. Should we think differently because some of the vases are sold for a million dollars at Sotheby's?

Scholarly battles have been fought over the price and thus value of the vases. The discussions were muddled by other considerations. A number of eminent scholars¹² have defended Beazley's method of stylistic attribution. Others (Vickers 1985; Gill and Vickers 1989; Gill 1991, 1994; Vickers and Gill 1994) have confused some convincing assertions on the cheapness of the vases with uninformed comments on stylistic attributions. It is pointless explaining to anyone who has not spent hours drawing or tracing vase-paintings the importance and relevance of stylistic attribution.

There is today a quasi-unanimous agreement that the majority of Greek decorated vases were quite cheap to produce and buy. There was an extensive range of products, from the very small to the very large, from the coarsely-painted to the exquisitely designed, and prices must have varied accordingly. The more expensive vases were the large well-decorated *kraters*, but the really expensive vases were made in silver or in gold. Sparkes (1996: 140–51) under the heading 'Where archaeology begins, art ceases' summarises all these various issues. He writes: 'So pots were cheap in monetary terms, but could of course be valuable to their owners and to families in ways that had nothing to do with money. Quite a number of vases show signs of having been mended with rivets, spikes and cleats' (1996: 143). This has been used by some scholars to prove (erroneously in my view) that the vases must have been expensive. In fact, this only demonstrates that we must put aside our modern preconceptions in terms of our throw-away consumer society (where one throws away old objects to buy new ones) when we consider the ancient world. This was not the case even fifty years ago, when one repaired the tiniest tea cup rather than jettisoning it. Our 'vases' were therefore pots, accessible to most social classes of Greek society of the time. This simple yet straightforward viewpoint enables us to think differently about the representations including humour on the vases.

¹² See, for example, Robertson 1985 and Boardman 1987b, 1988a, 1988b.

Provenance and Market(s)

An archaeologist thinks contextually of discovery. Context is the key that unlocks the meaning and function of discovered objects. In the case of vases, so many of them are of unknown provenance that we have had to work with collections rather than with archaeological excavations. The fact that some have been found in tombs, whether in Greece or elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean, only tells us that they were probably liked and appreciated by their former owners. We cannot even be sure that the Etruscans of the fifth century BC understood the meaning (or function) of all the 'Athenian' vases they bought in such large numbers. The special feature of Greek vases was that most shapes had one or more functions and were at the same time aesthetically pleasing through their shape and decoration. They respond more closely to what we call today *design* rather than *art*.

The context of discovery is usually not tackled by iconologists, and conversely scholars interested in the context are not much interested in iconography: there are many valid arguments on each side. For example, thousands of Athenian vases were found in graves in Etruria (Vulci, Cervetri, etc.). Does this explain their former function or their intended meaning? Quite probably not, and after all, most were produced by Athenian potters and painters in Athens for the Kerameikon market in Athens. Some might argue that if Greek vases are found in great numbers in Etruria, they were destined to Etruria. However, only one shape, the so-called Nikosthenic amphora, was produced with the Etrurian market in mind (Tosto 1999: 17–93; Reusser 2003c: 171–2). According to Reusser (2003c: 172), it seems clear from an iconographical point of view that if Etruscans were imitating Athenian imagery, Athenians never imitated Etruscan forms of art. He adds that the Etruscans shared a number of cultural traits with the Greeks, such as the symposium, and one can trace imitations of Greek mythology back to the mid-seventh century BC. He says in substance that the specifically Greek imagery of Athenian pottery could be sold to the Etruscan market without modifications. The first collectors of the eighteenth century called the vases 'Etruscan' because they did not realise that they were produced in Athens. Shall we make the same mistake two hundred years later? Most of the vases that were catalogued by Beazley, amounting to some 60,000–100,000 in number, are of the finer quality in drawing, and many were found in Etruria. But many vases have been unearthed of a 'lesser quality' or that were undecorated. Many more are found every day in Greece and deserve to be published. Although some Greek vases were found in Etruscan habitation Pyrgi, Gravisca, Populonia, and Caere, most vases were found in tombs (Reusser 2003a: 157). As burial grounds are normally enclosed and protected, the vases were found in great numbers and usually in a good state of conservation. This does not explain, however, the original function or meaning of the vases.

Quite possibly, a great number of vase-paintings represent 'aristocratic values', but did the aristocrats at the symposia actually want to see 'aristocratic values'? Or did these values trickle down through all levels of society? After all, just because 'aristocrats' had symposia does not mean that the rest of the less-wealthy Athenians did not drink wine! They also needed kraters to mix their wine with water! Maybe the wealthy used silver

vessels. This does not preclude them from using ceramic vases as well! Some scholars, such as Fless (2002), have tried to reconstruct the *contexts of discovery* of selected sites to understand the choice and use of Athenian pottery. We infer the intended function of most of these vases from textual evidence and from the vases shown in use on the vases themselves. But excavations at Olynthos seem to show that the vases were multi-functional.

There are very few representations of painters at work on the vases. One shows a woman painter at work.¹³ According to many anthropologists on pottery production worldwide, it seems that men and women shared various functions in the chain of production of ancient pottery. This may have been the situation in ancient Greece. The representation is famous but seems to have been discarded by numerous scholars as an exception or an unrealistic vision of the division of labour. Yet, there are, proportionally to the number of vases we possess, very few that show male painters at work. It may have not been such an exception after all. Could this explain certain depictions in a better light? Probably not: whether they were men or women, they were producing vases for a male-driven society.¹⁴ In Athens, images were probably needed as much as in today's world and were found everywhere outside the home in temple sculpture, figurines, and so on, but with no magazines, newspapers, or television available in the home, the easiest access to images must have been the paintings on the vases. Most Athenians would have been able to afford the purchase of some vases, and it was not because someone could afford silverware that they did not have lesser wares as well. Clearly, the wealthy had clay pots too. The poor probably used unglazed ware for the more usual occasions and glazed pottery or decorated ones for the more special occasion, just like today when we 'put out the silver' for special guests. One fact must remain uppermost in our mind: however many vases we catalogue, these represent but a fraction of what was actually produced between the sixth and fourth centuries BC.

Chronology

Most Greek vase specialists tend to avoid chronological issues and summarise them in the following way. First appears Corinthian black-figure (incised black silhouette on a lighter background). Its typology is quite solid and brings us from the seventh century down to the beginning of the sixth century BC. The Athenian black-figure (incised black silhouette on a red background) then takes over until the 530s BC when a new technique appears, the red-figure (painted details on a red silhouette, on a black background), which will last until the end of the fourth century BC. The dating of black-figure vases and red-figure vases is practically entirely based on stylistic comparison, shape, and

¹³ Hydria, Attic RF, Milan, Torno Collection, from Ruvo; (BA 206564), ARV² 571.73, 1659, Para 390, Add 128, Add² 261; Onians, J. (1999) *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*, New Haven, fig. 48; CVA, Milano, Collezione H A 2, III.L.3, III.L.4, pl. 1.1–3; Duby, G. and Perrot, M. (eds.) (1991) *Histoire des Femmes*, Paris, fig. 45; ARFH I, fig. 323. From Italy, Ruvo; Leningrad Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹⁴ With the possible exception of certain shapes that seem to be intended for female use: the *epinetron*, which was placed over the leg when working wool, and the *pyxis*, a small perfume or jewel box.

ornament change. Boardman³³ adds three 'fairly reliable fixed points to which the stylistic sequence can be pegged':

(1) Vases or styles dated by events. This usually means their presence in contexts which can plausibly be associated with dated historical events. There are few of this type in Athenian black figure and the historical 'dates' are sometimes imprecise. ... (2) Vases dated by their context with other objects for which a chronology has been established. There is no joy here, since there is no contemporary series of vases either prolific enough or well enough studied, as there had been earlier (the Corinthian series), and coins are no more closely dateable than vases. (3) Vases or styles dated by stylistic comparisons with other objects for which a chronology has been established. The obvious comparisons are with sculpture. The reliefs of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, made little before 525, closely match the early Andokides Painter.

As the Andokides Painter produced 'bilingual' vases (one side in the black-figure, one side in the red-figure technique), he is considered to be the artisan who embodies the transition between the two techniques. Because of the close stylistic parallels between his figures and those sculpted on the Siphnian Treasury, the change to the red-figure technique has been dated to 525 BC. This is a conventional date, as are most other dates in Greek vase-painting.

All this taken in consideration, I have still provided rough date estimates for most objects I refer to. I realise that it is quite reasonable for readers (especially those unfamiliar with archaeological methods) to expect rough chronological estimates despite the unscientific methods by which such dates may be arrived at. This will probably not satisfy the demand of certain historians and classicists for 'absolute' chronologies but will make explicit the limits of the underlying archaeological methods and the difficulties in assigning dates to objects that in most cases lack stratified contexts let alone definite geographical provenances. Similarly, the use of statistics, so dear to some historians as a 'scientific tool', is used here with much caution.

Past Scholarship on Visual Humour

Although the Greek context is the main concern of this book, studies on visual humour in various historical periods and regions of the world are useful comparanda. Comic genres, techniques, and mechanisms transcend cultural boundaries and survive the centuries. It is the taboos and references that change from one city, country, region to the next and from ancient times to nowadays. Although the subject is growing in interest in recent years, there is still little research on visual humour *per se*, and just a few articles on Greek visual humour described below.

³³ See *ABFH*, 193–5 for (1), and *ARFH* I, 211 for (2) and (3). See Langlotz, E. (1920). *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der Gleichzeitigen Plastik*: 9–16 (black-figure), 17ff (early red-figure and the Siphnian Treasury), 43ff (kalos names). See also Payne (1931) *Necrocorinthia*, 344 ff; Brann, E., *Athenian Agora* 8: 7, 25; Cook, J. M., *BSA* 53–4: 29; Haspels, E., *ABL* 91–3, 139f; *AAA* 4, 99ff ('Plataeans tumulus'); *Athenian Agora* 12: 383ff; Dinsmoor, W. B., *AJA* 38: 408ff; Boardman, J. (1988) *AA*: 423ff.

Ancient Egyptian humour has been studied by Houlihan (1991, 2001) even though emphasis is more literary than visual; when analysing visual humour, he discusses what he calls *caricature* as he focuses on the mockery of royalty, nobility, and various functions through parodical anthropomorphised animals in papyri. One would like to know more on the mechanisms of Egyptian visual subversions, either in sculpture or in written/pictorial form. Studies in Near Eastern humour (Foster 1974) focus on cuneiform literature, not visual. Finnestad (1970) wrote on Buddhist laughter, Hyers (1974) on the comic spirit within Zen, but Rao's work in India (1995) has been more useful, as he concentrates on early Indian visual humour. There are a variety of studies on humour in the Old Testament (Reins 1972) and the New (Cormier 1977), but only two major studies on visual humour in the European Middle Ages. First, Camille's book on humour in medieval manuscripts, and especially the section on *marginalia* (1992: 11–55), concerns humorous cartoons found in the margins of medieval manuscripts, which I would call medieval *visual puns*. The second book is by Benton (2004) and concerns wit and humour in medieval art and specifically visual humour in architectural sculpture. Humour in Japan has been studied but not from a specifically visual point of view (Wells 1995; D. J. Milner 2005), whereas humour in Chinese art has been (Harbsmeier 1986). Lent has studied the works of contemporary cartoonists in a variety of countries (1999a, 1999b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005), and he even attempts to compile the bibliography on comic art by continent in a couple of publications (1994, 1996). In general, he focuses on the reference points in each cartoonist's country, its political, moral, or religious regime, which are all of great interest to understand how varied taboos are across the world. As far as the mechanisms of visual humour are concerned and the study of ancient humour, the work of Camille in medieval art or Melot's in nineteenth-century caricature are of more use. Melot (1975) has written methodically on comic pictures. He is mainly interested in the art of the nineteenth century in western Europe, but some of his views on comic genres and techniques can be applied (with care) to Greek vase-painting, especially when he deals with the use of caricature (1975: 9–32).

There is little past scholarship on humour on Greek vases (Mitchell 2000, 2002, 2004, 2007). There are a few articles on individual comic pictures: Picard (1964) wrote an article on a Cypriot 'comic' representation; Keuls (1988) was interested in the relationships between painters in Athens and analyses some humorous inscriptions. Brownlee (1989) studies a parody of Hector's ransom. This may be the case, but the elements of parody are very sparse.¹⁶ Bélis (1992) interprets the presence of a goose next to an *aulos*-player as a sort of *rebus* meaning 'this is a goose note'. This image is probably over interpreted as one often finds ducks, geese, and a variety of other birds in scenes of daily life. Büsing (1993) wrote an article on the audience of humour. The article is fascinating from a methodological point of view: as he thinks that the vases were costly and produced only for aristocratic consumption, he considers that any scene showing artisans was intended to make the aristocrats laugh. First, the vases were affordable to most layers of Athenian society; second, would aristocrats really laugh at representations of artisans? The few

¹⁶ See further, Chapter 3, Section 1.

articles or books that tackle the problem of humour in ancient Greek representations are either a literary excursus or over-interpretative stand-alone studies. The general impression conveyed by these articles is that they are peripheral representations, seldom found in vase-painting. Their authors appear to be convinced that every comic picture is a *hapax*, something that appears only once. This misperception is based on the erroneous conviction that humour in vase-painting was extremely rare. This conviction blinds them to the existence of potential comparisons that would enrich their interpretations of the representations they are investigating. Some scholars have studied topics that are related, albeit distantly, to the subject of this book. Radermacher (1947) and Kenner (1960) were interested in representations of laughter and weeping in ancient Greece but not specifically in humour and comic depictions.

Cèbe (1966) has studied caricature and parody in Roman art and literature. Some of his literary statements on parody and caricature can be transposed to the Greek world and, with prudence, to the visual world, but most of his assertions on visual humour, as well as his examples, are unconvincing or wrongly identified.³⁷

J. Clarke's recent book on humour in ancient Roman visual culture (2007) needs to be addressed.³⁸ It is the first proper study of the subject in the Roman world. Clarke clearly states his argument from the start: most of our knowledge of ancient Roman humour is based on literary accounts, which only offer us an insight into the Roman elite, leaving aside most of the population. He claims that his study of visual humour enlightens us on the non-elite population. As far as paintings in *tavernae*, baths, and small clay lamps and *médallions d'applique* are concerned, I agree entirely with his claim and interpretations. However, most representations discussed in this fascinating book are wall paintings and mosaics in rich Pompeian houses. Therefore, most of the visual humour is produced for the elite and does not enlighten our understanding of the Roman psyche on a popular level. The advantage of his study is that the comic paintings and mosaics have (or had) a context. This has enabled the author to differentiate viewers and viewings based on the location, composition, and surroundings of the images. This choice of archaeological methodology would be an impossible task with regards to Greek vase-painting. Some of the author's interpretations may find a greater *assise* with this current study of Greek visual humour, as a number of scenes discussed by Clarke are already present in ancient Greece.³⁹ In some cases, the Roman use of inscriptions in conjunction with visual representations is a real delight.⁴⁰ Some of the images

³⁷ Exi (fig. 16) Aesop's cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16552; (BA 211120), ARV² 916.183, Para 430, Add³ 304; Metzler, D. (1971) *Porträt und Gesellschaft* Berlin: 94–5, fig. 7; (Dasen 1993: pl. 38.4); Fittschen, K. (1988). *Griechische Porträts*. Darmstadt: pl. 26.1; (Zanker 1995: 39, fig. 19); (Garland 1995: fig. 32). Painter of Bologna 417; 460–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. It is considered by Cèbe to be Roman.

³⁸ For a full review of this book, see Mitchell 2008b.

³⁹ The origin and comic parody of priapic representations, pygmies and dwarfs, and phallus-bird is already found in Greece and covered in the current book. A simple comparison between the parodies of herms and their worship in Greece would illuminate a number of Roman artefacts.

⁴⁰ See, for example, J. Clarke 2007: 218, fig. 112: a male–female couple on a bed, with caption ORTE SCUTUS EST, second century AD, applied medallion, terracotta, diam. 10.2 cm, found near Arles (1951, now lost). See also J. Clarke 2007: 221, fig. 114: a male–female couple on a bed beneath shuttered panel, with caption

are extraordinarily funny, such as a slab showing almighty Jupiter casting down a man with a thunderbolt for shitting in the wrong place,⁴¹ or an ass, crowned by a victory personification for bugging a lion,⁴² or clever parodies of the Seven Sages, with the now famous joke (amongst archaeologists anyway) about Solon the Athenian whom, instead of having one of his sayings painted above his head such as 'Pursue worthy aims', has 'To shit well Solon stroked his belly'.⁴³

As satyrs are often found in comic vase-paintings, Lissarrague's numerous publications on this subject are referred to throughout the present work. Although Lissarrague has not researched humour as such, he has analysed most aspects of the playfulness of satyrs and, in his works on satyrs, has shed new light on vase-painters' visual games. Recently, Lissarrague (2000b), in a short section of a book on the anthropology of ancient Greek laughter (Desclos 2000), studied some broad aspects of satyric humour. Hedreen, with his seminal study of *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting* (1992), is also a great specialist of the visual aspect of satyr iconography. In a recent article, Hedreen (2006) tries to recreate the humour of the symposium through a variety of methods, including the use of iambic poetry and visually the use of satyrs. There are a number of articles in this survey of laughter, but most of them are based on literary and some epigraphic evidence.

Among the reasons for the absence of studies on humour in Greek art is the fact that many scholars dealing with ancient Greece including many archaeologists and art-historians have preconceptions on the seriousness of Greek art, with little if no space for derision. As Agard (1923: 97) wrote eighty years ago: 'It is something to realise that the Greeks laughed'.⁴⁴ Added to this problem is the fact that specialists in the art market and others tend to take the connoisseurship approach when looking at vases, that is, treating them as fine-art objects rather than drinking vessels or various containers with a diversity of functions. Finally, the vases must be first compared iconographically to other vases and plastic artforms and only then compared to the literary evidence. This is how differences between representations are noted, especially humorous ones.

I bring to this long list of scholars who have worked on humour based on the literary evidence a whole new corpus – a visual corpus. It has its own rules and codes, but the mechanisms of visual humour, although based independently on the study of tens of thousands of representations (serious and non-serious) on Greek vases, fit roughly in the same categories of humour as found in literature.

VA ... VIDES QUAM BENE CHALAS, Trajanic (AD 98–118), terracotta, diam 5.4 cm. Musée Archéologique, Nîmes.

⁴¹ See J. Clarke 2007: 61–2, fig. 21: Aquileia, Jupiter hurtling thunderbolts at a defecating man. The image is better understood with the knowledge of numerous graffiti warning men not to defecate in certain areas of Pompeii.

⁴² See J. Clarke 2007: 109–12, pl. 11: Pompeii, Tavern (VII, 6, 34–5), ass crowned by a victory for mounting a lion. Clarke deconstructs perfectly the former, philological interpretations to offer a more plausible explanation to this extraordinary painting.

⁴³ 'Ut bene cacaret ventrem palpavit Solon'. See J. Clarke 2007: pl. 13: Ostia, Tavern of the Seven Sages (III, 10, 2–3), room 5: Sages and sitting men.

⁴⁴ Even though his article is on 'Greek Humor on Vase Paintings', Agard writes further on the same page (97) 'Of course literature is the chief source'.

How to Identify Comic Pictures: Methodology and Categories of Visual Humour

Methodology

While the knowledge gained on humour from literature is invaluable in understanding what made the Greeks laugh and what one might expect to find in pictures, I do not intend to explain representations through literature. Greek literature and vase-paintings are two different media that express aspects of a common culture. Because texts seem less equivocal than pictures, it is often reassuring to refer to a text to explain a picture, as one would open a dictionary to find an explanation of a word. Some scholars often use literature to interpret art, as though art was not an expression of society itself but simply an illustration of literature. Vase-paintings are equivocal, and they must be placed in their context to be understood fully; they must be compared to other pictures to which they implicitly refer. Comparative iconography is my methodology of choice. Each painting that seems unusual is compared to a great number of others to see whether it is humorous. It will depend on what was considered amusing at the time, what were the taboos, and the presence or absence of incongruity and surprise.

I decided to look for humour on Greek vases because I could not believe that there was no such thing in ancient Greek imagery. Then I carefully examined about thirty thousand vases in most European Museums, their storage rooms, as well as in the publications of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* and the Beazley archive in Oxford. This brought about more types of humour I had not thought of beforehand and, more importantly, how humour functioned on Greek vases. I could observe with certainty that certain comic mechanisms were repeatedly used. I then re-examined all these vases with sharper analytical tools, based on the previous search, to verify the presence of these mechanisms. In the end, approximately four to five per cent of the Athenian decorated vases I had observed were comical in one way or another, and, among the vases found at the Kabirion that I observed, maybe twenty-five per cent were comical.

The statistics found in the Tables at the end of the volume are based on comic vases referred to in this book, a much-abridged number of my working database of comic vases. The data is interesting, keeping in mind that statistics in archaeology are built up from casual and often unplanned discoveries that cannot themselves be considered wholly representative of what remains to be found at a future time. Although many vases have been collected for their aesthetic qualities since the seventeenth century, many are unfortunately without archaeological context. We classify what nature throws up by chance – only the continual accumulation of data through patient and painstaking examination of many thousands of vase-paintings lead to meaningful conclusions.

Moreover, to keep the number of vases in this book manageable, I have only included the most representative examples of each type of comic scene. For example, there are more than seventy representations of Herakles bringing back the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus (see Table 12), but I have chosen to show and catalogue fewer than five, which were the most illustrative examples. This means that for many common comic scenes, the numbers given in the statistics can be multiplied by a factor of ten or more. The same can be said of the return of Hephaistos drunk to Olympus (see Table 13).

There are more than 150 in this series, but I have kept less than five for the catalogue. Of the Boeotian vases, I have only retained a few out of a total of more than 350 vases. In all these statistics, I have omitted the non-comic vases used as comparanda. For those interested in further statistical analysis, I offer a special column, which I have called percentage of the total production. For all the comic representations attributed to artists in the black- and red-figure techniques, the last column gives their number of comic vases among their total attributed 'serious' production.

The idea underlying this method is that while classicists of the twenty-first century often need and use texts to understand pictures in the first instance – which would otherwise often remain mute – the ancient viewer did not need such props, since he knew the pictures being mocked all too well. Iconography has a language of its own through style, composition, material, figures, gestures, attitudes, and so on. Explaining certain pictures through visual puns, situation comedy, caricature, and parody shows them in a different light.

Cambyse's laugh presents a danger that is impossible to avoid entirely. While recognising all the difficulties of this task and its limitations, humour remains versatile, sometimes frivolous and sometimes deceiving. Archaeological research, in spite of its evident success in unravelling elements of everyday life in antiquity, remains nonetheless a slow process of intellectual reconstruction.

Mechanisms and Categories of Visual Humour

Comic Mechanisms

Surprise, or the unexpected, is described in the *Tractatus Coislinianus*.⁴⁵ It is used over and over by Aristophanes to shock and amuse his audience. Through surprise and double entendre he provokes the spectators' laughter. It is often found together with degradation: 'the fact of making the character base' (*Tract. Coisl.* 6.5–6: 'ek tou kataskeuazein ta prosōpa pros to mochthēron') (Janko 1984: 36; D. F. Sutton 1994: 7–16). But the study of Aristophanes, Old Comedy in general, and many other comic passages in texts unrelated to comedy have taught us not only what the Greeks laughed at but the very mechanisms of humour in Athens of the time. Strangely enough, although we do not laugh at the same things as Athenians did in the fifth century BC because we do not share the same culture, taboos, and references, the *mechanisms* through which humour is conveyed remain the same. Whilst surprise may often be a cause of laughter, it is not always so. It is a necessary element in comic situations. For vase-paintings, if we consider that pictures on Greek vases repeatedly present certain scenes that were depicted in the same manner, surprise and possibly humour could be created by a painter simply by changing some expected elements in his depictions or by adding some incongruous ingredients. 'It is upon such unexpected introductions of auxiliary subjects that we are struck with a surprise' (Morris 1744: 2).

⁴⁵ *ek tōn para prosdokian* or *ek tou paradoxou*.

Most pictures discussed in this book are incongruous: they contain disparate or discordant elements (Rothbart 1976: 40). Incongruity, in a representation, consists in different elements being incompatible with each other. In the case of visual puns, there is often no explanation for an incongruous element except the whim of the painter. Sometimes, figures depicted in a scene interact with the decorative parts of the vase. In other cases, the vase itself appears to come to life.⁴⁶ The incongruous is often accompanied by a displacement in position or in attitude. In other words, humour can be motivated by the transposition from one level of comprehension to another. The sudden shift arouses laughter. In a visual pun or in a parody, it is the subtle shift between the picture we expect and the one that is actually depicted that is amusing. The feeling of incongruity is also generated by misapplication or inadequacy.⁴⁷ It is incongruous and absurd to apply something in this way, or to apply the wrong attributes to an object or a person. According to Freud's theory, it is the absurd juxtaposition of incongruous elements that arouses laughter because the mind cannot choose one explanation in preference to another, and this perplexity ends in laughter.

Visual Puns and Parody

A pun is a word used in such a way as to suggest two or more meanings or different associations, or the use of two or more words of the same or nearly the same sound but with different meanings, so as to produce a humorous effect, a play on words. I will refer to some pictures as visual puns because their maker played, in the same benign and reductive way as the conceiver of a play on words, on the combination of different images to provoke laughter. The techniques of visual puns and parody (also a genre) are quite similar. Visual puns are based on the transgression of visual conventions. The painters subvert the stylistic conventions of iconography: for example, they comically blur the distinction between the actual decorative frame of a scene and the content that is framed. This type of humour is based on visual memory and immediacy.⁴⁸ Painters change small details in well-known series of images to produce a comical effect. This kind of humour is strictly visual. Pictures may refer incidentally to mythology or cultural phenomena, but they usually avoid narration. A good example of a visual pun is on a black-figure olpe in Berkeley (fig. 1).⁴⁹ Two satyrs carry large decorative eyes exactly like other satyrs usually carry wineskins on their backs: they hold the wineskins from one of the tied openings, which on this vase is the eye's tear duct. The satyr has traded the decorative function

⁴⁶ For example, anthropomorphic cups with eyes, eyebrows, nose, ears. See further, Chapter 2, 'The Comical Inanimate: Visual Puns and Misused Objects'.

⁴⁷ For example, flute-cases are shown hanging from satyrs' erect penises on some Greek vases: see further, Chapter 2. See also a passage in *Ar. Frogs* 1089–98 and *Pl. Resp.* 614b–c.

⁴⁸ See further, Chapter 6, 'Visual Immediacy'.

⁴⁹ Olpe, Attic BF, Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 8.3379; (BA 320471), *ABV* 436.2, 445.11, *Pana* 188, *Add.* 112; *CVA*, USA 5, University of California 1, pl. 25.1a–c; *Steinhart* 1993: 21, fig. 2. From Italy, Orvieto; Painter of the Jena Kaineus; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 1. *Satyrs carrying decorative eyes*. Olpe, Attic BF, Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 8.3379; Painter of the Jena Kaineus; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

and meaning of the eyes for two wineskins: he is playing with the decorative motifs of the vase.

A parody in literature is a text that imitates the style of another with changes. Among many other comic devices, Aristophanes regularly uses parody, imitating, for example, the epic or tragic styles in everyday life's 'vulgar' discussions. Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a) writes on *mimesis*, imitation of reality in the arts: 'Homer's characters, for instance, are better than we are; Kleophon's are on our level; and those of Hegemon of Thasos, the first writer of parodies, and Nikokhares, the author of the *Diliad*, are beneath it'. According to Cèbe (1966: 10), both notions of reproduction and transformation are found in the prefix *para* [parodia]. As far as the language of the satyr plays is concerned, it is very close to that of tragedy but transformed for humorous purposes: it is 'contaminated by the colloquial admixture of non-tragic elements' (D. E. Sutton 1980: 142). Parody, as a mechanism, functions similarly in images (Hutcheon 1985). To quote Aristotle again: 'the personages of Polygnotos are better than we are and those of Pauson worse' (*Poet.* 1448a). Of course, vase-paintings are not 'read' as texts, yet the codes of imagery were obvious to people living in Athens in the fifth century BC. Some scholars may feel that two thousand five hundred years is too long a span of time to understand these codes without an appropriate lexicon. However, by examining many thousands of paintings, patterns and codes of imagery emerge, and the pictures 'speak' to us. They become, to a certain extent, as 'decipherable' as texts. Vase-painters who produced parodies had to be certain that the viewer would recognise a traditional scene or a canonical motif by giving sufficient details, but, at the same time, they needed to include other well-chosen details



Figure 2. *Satyr pretending to be Herakles fighting the snake guardian of the Garden of the Hesperides: the golden apples are here wine jugs.* Chous, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E539; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

to transform the canonical picture into something comical. In vase-paintings, parodies can be achieved in different ways. As satyrs are quite representative of Athenian humour, I will chose another representation with a satyr to show a parody.

A satyr (fig. 2),¹⁰ identifiable from his horsetail and ears, his snub nose, and scruffy beard, approaches a snake coiled around the trunk of a tree. The satyr wields a club in his right hand and bears a hunter's or a hero's *chlamys* across his left arm and

¹⁰ Chous, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E539; (BA 209570), ARV² 776.2, 1669, Add² 287; ARFH II, fig. 33; Mitchell 2004: fig. 24. From Italy, Capua; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing ©



Figure 3. *Squatting defecating caricatured man holding his nose because of the smell.* Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2. 1073; 440–430 BC. Scanned drawing after Gräf and Langlotz 1933: pl. 83, no. 1073.

shoulder. The reference to the Garden of the Hesperides and Herakles is clear from the details of the club, the snake, the tree, and its fruit. To see a satyr in a heroic posture, mimicking Herakles' actions is comical enough, but the painter has altered yet another detail so as to underline his parody. As satyrs are gluttons, and apples, golden or otherwise, would not interest them, the painter has drawn wine jugs in place of the expected apples.

Alexandre G. Mitchell. See further, [Chapter 4](#), 'Satyrs, Stock Themes, and Iconographical Parody' for a full analysis of this representation.



Figure 4. *Herakles bringing the Erymanthian boar alive to King Eurystheus*. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E44; Signed Euphronios Epoiesen; Onesimos; 505–480 BC. Scanned drawing after Furtwängler et al. 1904: pl. 23.

Caricature

The word caricature comes from the Italian *caricare* (to load), first used in descriptions of some of Annibale Carracci's works. It is a grotesque or ludicrous representation of persons or things by the exaggeration of their most characteristic and striking features. The type of caricature we are most accustomed to in England, and especially since the nineteenth century, is what has been termed the cartoon. Cartoons are more complex than caricatures because they often also tell a story and, in the nineteenth century in the English and French press, they were highly political. The word 'cartoon' was introduced in English with the sense of humorous drawing in 1843 at the occasion of a competition to produce frescoes with scenes from English history for the new Houses of Parliament (Lambourne 1992: 14). *Autres temps autres mœurs*. In archaic and classical Greece, old age, pygmies, African facial traits, and dwarfs aroused laughter. Most of the Kabirion vases⁵¹ use this technique to achieve their humorous goals. An example of this technique in Athenian imagery is a caricatured squatting man shown inside a cup (fig. 3),⁵² with a disproportionately large head (in comparison to his body), pinching his nose because he is defecating.

⁵¹ See Chapter 5.

⁵² Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Coll., 2. 1073; (BA 30687); Kilmer 1993: pl. at p. 147, R1141; scanned drawing, after Gräf and Langlotz 1933: pl. 83, no. 1073. From Greece; Athens Acropolis; 440–430 BC.

Situation Comedy

Often used on stage, in Old Comedy, situation comedy is the easiest way to provoke an immediate response from an audience. Situation comedy is the set of relations between one or several characters, their surroundings, and particular circumstances in which they will act. When a character is placed in an unexpected situation, he may act in a comic way. In vase-painting, the question that arises is: how can situation comedy be depicted as opposed to enacted? In vase-painting, it is made up of a comical narrative. It is created by the intrusion in a scene close to reality of an element that disturbs an established order. It may also arise when there is a complete inversion of an initial situation. It consists often in the depiction of a hero or a god acting as a human, or of a king acting as a coward. In the representations of Herakles returning to Eurystheus with the Erymanthian boar *alive* (fig. 4),⁵³ the king, frightened both by the animal and Herakles, hides away by jumping into a large pot. Some hilarious plays can be ruined because they are performed badly. In situation comedy, it seems, at first, that only the *situation* arouses laughter. In fact, the quality of performance of the actors, that is, the style of the *narration* is crucial. Likewise in vase-paintings, the humour of a scene can be enhanced or degraded depending on the talent of the painter.⁵⁴

⁵³ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E44; (BA 203219), ARV² 318.2, 313, 1604, *Add* 107, *Add*² 214, *Para* 358; Brijder, H. (1984) *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of Vase Symposium*. Amsterdam: 158, fig. 2; CVA, London, British Museum 9, 20-1, figs. 3e, 3h, 4f, pls. 9.a-b, 10.a-d; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler et al. 1904: pl. 23. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Signed Euphronios Epioiesen; Onesimos; 505-480 BC.

⁵⁴ See further, Chapter 3, 'Tricked Tricksters, Surprise, and the Degradation of Status' for a more-detailed analysis of this series of comic representations.



Humour in the City

The World of Men, Women, and Animals

This chapter is devoted to the visual mockery of most aspects of everyday life and mythology. According to Diogenes Laertius (1.33), Thales often used to say that he thanked the gods for making him a human not a beast, a man not a woman, and finally a Greek and not a foreigner. I have ordered the chapter accordingly, gradually, starting from the comical use of inanimate objects, animals in situation comedy, social stereotypes and comic archetypes about women, and then moving onto men, finally concluding with debased heroes and gods.

1. THE COMICAL INANIMATE: VISUAL PUNS AND MISUSED OBJECTS

Eye-cups

Visual humour begins with corrupted eye-cups, a very common series in the sixth century BC. To understand the comic mechanisms of this very 'inanimate' type of visual humour, a presentation of the eye-cup series, and a critique of its usual interpretations, apotropaism, and anthropomorphism is in order.

Eye-cups, *Augenschale* (Steinhart 1995), *coupe à yeux*, as a term of classification, is misleading and probably inadequate; a good number of vases of many different shapes, techniques, provenance, and date were decorated with eyes since the seventh century BC. For example, a 'Melian' (from Paros) amphora in Athens,¹ produced in the 640s (Papastamos 1970: 93), has two eyes under the handles. The latter magnify the eyebrows to create an impression of depth. On a Boeotian krater in Munich,² two eyes with arrows as brows are painted under the handles. A Naxian amphora (from Delos) in Mykonos³ has a large eye under a handle; an Ionian multiple eye bowl (from Naukratis) in London⁴

¹ 'Melian' amphora (Parian), Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 354; *EGVP*, fig. 252.2. From Melos; seventh century BC.

² Krater, Boeotian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 444. Seventh century BC.

³ Amphora, Naxian, Mykonos Museum, Ba 1; Dugas 1935: pl. 1. Seventh century BC.

⁴ Multiple eye bowl, Ionian, London, British Museum, 1888.6-1.392; *EGVP*, fig. 283. From Naukratis; seventh century BC.

shows two pairs of eyes; and a Rhodian oinochoe in Munich⁸ has two eyes painted on either side of the spout. Except for the eyes, they do not have much in common with the Athenian eye-cups, but they demonstrate that eyes on vases have a long tradition.

The largest quantity of Athenian cups of the late sixth century decorated with eyes (so-called type A) first appeared after the mid-sixth century BC. A famous cup in Munich signed by Exekias⁹ is considered by many to be the finest example of type-A cups. In the words of Beazley: 'Type A is a massive model, with lipless bowl and short stout stem well marked off from the bowl by a thick fillet' (1951: 67). The foot of these cups varies slightly (Bloesch 1940: pls. 8.1-3). The term 'eye-cup' is used most often to designate bilingual cups of type A decorated with large eyes on their exterior and often a *gorgoneion* in their tondo. Beazley divided the corpus of eye-cups into three classes: bilingual, red-figured, and palmette-eye cups.⁷ The eyes may be joined by noses (especially Beazley's Class I, the bilingual) but not by ears. The contour of the eye is gently curved, with a sharply pointed outer corner and pronounced tear gland. This type is known as the masculine eye. The feminine is almond-shaped. Cups of type B, with a continuous curve from top to bottom, rarely show eyes in black-figure. Their more slender shape suited the red-figure technique much better. A group of vases contemporary to the Athenian eye-cups is the Chalcidian. The fabric has been called Chalcidian because of the style of the lettering of its inscriptions.⁸ These vases probably do not come from Chalcis but were produced in Italy where the vases were found.⁹ They were perhaps imitated by Attic potters. The so-called Attic Chalcidising cups have a similar foot and decoration. Although there is not enough evidence to prove that Attic eye-cups originated in Chalcidian or Chalcidising cups, they may help us to understand the decoration of Attic eye-cups. Two Chalcidising cups in Munich¹⁰ show large eyes topped by brows with a nose in between and ears on each side. On the first, the ears are those of a satyr, and on the second, human with ear-rings. A pair of eyes, a nose, and ears create the impression of a face. Attic eye-cups do not show ears but a face is still visible, because many cups have noses painted between the eyes,¹¹ and sometimes corner palmettes recall the outline of ears (Beazley's Class III). Some eye-cups, for example a black-figure cup in Hamburg (fig. 5),¹² lack both the nose and the palmettes. On these cups of Class II, figures in a variety of postures are often

⁸ Oinochoe, Rhodian, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 6187; Vierneisel 1990: 417, fig. 75.1. Seventh century BC.

⁹ Cup A, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2044; (BA 310403), ABV 146.21, 666, Para 60, Add¹ 41; CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 13, 14-19, pls. 1.1-2, 2.1-3, 3.1-2, 4.1, 1.1, 2.1-2; Furtwängler et al. 1904: 227, pl. 42. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Exekias Potter by signature, Exekias Painter; 550-530 BC.

⁷ See ARV² 40-5, 47-8, 49-51.

⁸ See Rumpf 1927: pls. 177-95; Iozzo 1994, 1996; and Mele 1998.

⁹ On this subject, see Vallet 1958: 211-21; Keck 1990: 1-8; and Boardman 1999: 195.

¹⁰ Cup, Chalcidian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 590, 530-520 BC. Cup, BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 589; (BA 18617); Vierneisel 1990: 418, fig. 75.3; Rumpf 1927: pl. 178, cat. 244. Chalcidising cup; 530-520 BC.

¹¹ See B. Cohen 1978: cat. A24, B15-17, B19, C24, B22-4, B26-7, B52-3, B55, B57-8, B62-62bis, B75, B88, B96, B106-8.

¹² Cup, Attic BF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1970.99; (BA 1167); CVA, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1, 57-9, pls. 40.3-4, 42.1-4; Tosto 1999: pls. 42.169, 147.169; Mitchell 2007: 200, fig. 1. Nikosthenes Potter; 540-520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 5. *Herakles between two large eyes*. Attic BF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1970.99; Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

depicted between the eyes making it difficult to imagine a face. The fact that eyes are a *pars pro toto* of a face will be discussed further.

Apotropaism

The large eyes on eye-cups are often called, inappropriately, ‘apotropaic eyes’. They were actually a decorative motif.¹³ The word ‘apotropaic’ comes from the Greek *apotropaios*: averting evil, which is frequently used in reference to Apollo (Ar. *Knights* 1307; *Birds* 61; *Pl.* 359). The apotropaic interpretation (Kraiker 1930: 167–8; Simon 1976: 46; *contra* Kunisch 1990: 21, fn. 9) in vase-painting derives from at least two sources. First, Greek ships often had an eye painted on the prow, considered to be apotropaic by many scholars (Morrison 1968; Raubitschek 1972: 217) and shown in vase-painting from the early sixth century. The eyes brought the ship to life, opening its eye on the multiple dangers of the sea. Ships need to see where they are going (Boardman 1992: 241). When interpreting these vases, some scholars leave aside the context in which the vases were used: cups and ships should not be set on the same level. Eyes painted on the prow of ships (if they were apotropaic) were surely of a greater consequence for sailors than eyes painted on vases for banqueters.

A great number of cups with eyes painted on the exterior have a *gorgoneion* painted in their tondo, probably because it fitted well in a round composition. The *gorgoneion* is

¹³ See Jackson 1976 and Ferrari 1986.

considered apotropaic because of its ugliness and its magical eyes. Athena wears the *gorgoneion* over her *aegis*. The deadly gaze of the Gorgon is protective because it is *alexikakos*, 'it wards off evil things'. It is doubtful the drinkers were *horrified* by the ugly 'masks' depicted in their cups. The large eyes have been considered to be *gorgoneion*'s eyes and subsequently half-*gorgoneion* (masks). The large eyes with very few exceptions are masculine, that is, with a tear duct. The *gorgoneion*'s eyes in the tondo of the same cups are female, that is, almond-shaped, as on a black-figure cup in Paris.¹⁴ From their respective shapes, the *gorgoneion* and the eyes painted on the exterior of the cups have distinctive characteristics; large eyes are not *gorgoneion* eyes. But even these frightening faces must have become so common in Greek art that they probably no longer terrified their viewers, if their function ever was such. Who was supposed to be terrified? The same reasoning casts doubt on the interpretation of eyes as Dionysos's, therefore, a half-mask of Dionysos (Greifenhagen 1966: 15). Dionysos's face or a satyr's face is sometimes found between the large eyes, as on a cup in Baltimore¹⁵ or another in Dallas,¹⁶ but both faces have female eyes.¹⁷ The distinction between mask and face, *prosopon* in Greek, has given rise to much discussion.¹⁸

The problem must lie elsewhere: although we know that the Greeks believed in the evil eye or *baskania* (to cast a spell), there is hardly any evidence that the Greeks believed in apotropaic painted eyes in the archaic and classical periods. The notion of the evil eye is based on envy, *phthonos*, and envying is to covet by looking (Plut. *Table talks* 5.7; Plin. *N.H.* 7.2.16–17). Many texts and inscriptions refer to the evil eye. For example, Socrates says to Cebes: 'My dear, do not speak so loudly, beware of the evil eye, which could turn our argument around, when it is about to appear, but that is the divinity's problem' (Plat. *Phaed.* 95b). Socrates means that the evil eye, as something superior to human will-power, may cut short a lecturer as he is giving a decisive argument. Aristotle advises to spit against the evil eye (*Fragmenta Aristotelica* F 271, 1527–9; Theoc. *Id.* 6.39–40). Archaeologists may also have inferred the idea of apotropaic eyes from Hellenistic amulets or from common apotropaic eye-amulets carried by men and women in today's Greece and Turkey. Bernand (1991: 102–3) uses an intaglio in Paris¹⁹ to prove that there are iconographic apotropaic artefacts against the evil eye, but it is dated much later (first century BC or later) than his textual evidence. If these eyes were apotropaic, were they supposed to protect the drinker against the toxic effects of wine, against drunkenness? From the numerous texts describing the behaviour of drunken banqueters and from the iconography of coarse *komasts* in vase-painting, it seems that the eyes were not very

¹⁴ Cup, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F121; (BA 301238), ABV 231.7, Para 97, 108, Add^b 59; CVA, France 17, Louvre 10, pl. 106.4, 7. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC.

¹⁵ Cup, Attic BF, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.42; (BA 302634), ABV 205.1, Para 94, 95, 96, Add^b 55; *Annales d'Histoire et d'Art et Archéologie, Université de Bruxelles*: 13 (1991) 9, fig. 2. Krokotos Group, Group of Walters 48.42; 530–520 BC.

¹⁶ Cup A, Attic BF, Dallas, Museum of Fine Arts, 1972.5; (BA 7484); Martens 1992: 353, fig. 159. Group of Walters 48.42; 530–520 BC.

¹⁷ See Jordan 1988: cat. C75–C86.

¹⁸ See Wrede 1928 and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982, 1989.

¹⁹ Intaglio, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Y 19921; Delatte and Derchain 1964: 72–3, fig. 89bis.

effective. If they were supposed to protect the wine itself, against poison for example, it is also very unlikely: banqueters did not have to be protected against sharing the wine with friends at the same banquet.

Eisman (1972: 210) suggested that the eyes should not be taken too seriously. Ancient viewers might have made an association of ideas with protective eyes against the evil eye when seeing the large eyes on cups, but the eyes were clearly decorative motifs. Bochlau (1900: 76) wrote already a century ago: 'only one eye is needed for this purpose'.

Anthropomorphism

The eyes are a *pars pro toto*; even when they are alone they recall the whole face (Deonna 1965: 21). They bring the vase to life. When the painter added eyebrows, ears, and a nose, the vase looked human. This example would confirm Bergson's principle: laughter may arise from 'something mechanical encrusted on the living' (1921: 37, ch. 1.5). For example, to see someone walking mechanically, like a puppet or a robot, can be comical. The opposite is comical too. Socrates (Pl. *Men.* 97d-e), with humour, relates the tradition according to which Daïdalos's statues had to be bound so that they would not run away (Beccatti 1953: 34).

It is reasonable to suppose that eyes were painted on vases to make them seem livelier. The eyes on vases are signs of anthropomorphism (Walter-Karydi 1973: 36). The large eyes were a 'decorative fad', and the vase-painters made the cup look like a face by adding a nose and ears to the large eyes. When a drinker brought the cup to his mouth, it must have covered his entire face and have looked like a mask, especially to the viewers facing him. The Greeks did not make a linguistic difference between a face and a mask: both are called *prosōpon*.

Boardman recalls the terminology with which we describe vases, treating them like the human body: lip, neck, shoulder, belly, foot. He then shows that the Greeks did the same: 'The Greeks called cup handles "ears"' (Boardman 1976: 288).²⁰ The terminology in Greek was *ta ōta* (the handles), *ē kephalē* (the head), *to prosōpon* (the face), *to cheilos* (the lip). Anthropomorphising is a very old practice. An interesting Samian face-kantharos²¹ is quite original in its conception if compared to the more common head vases representing blacks, satyrs, or women. It is a face and a kantharos all together, inanimate and animate natures mingled.

Martens (1992: 284-359)²² argues also that by using *l'animation anthropomorphique* the painters tried to make the vases more appealing to the viewers. The *animation anthropomorphique* did not survive after the late sixth century because it had been

²⁰ See Simonides in Ath. 11. 498e, 'skuphon ouatoenta'; Greek 'pot-kiss' (*chutra*) in which the lover's ears are held (Theoc. *Id.* 5.133; a. Gow, *Theocritus*, 2.115). See also Froehner 1876.

²¹ Figure vase kantharos, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlung, 2014 (BA 231202), ARV² 1529.3, *Para* 501; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, 6, pls. 295.1-2, 296.1-2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; face kantharos; 400-300 BC.

²² See also Steinhart 1995: 64-8.

repeated *ad nauseam* on cups and on many other kinds of vessel; the viewers who were buying the vases were probably tired of seeing eye-cups. Had the eyes been apotropaic, would they have disappeared a generation later? Had they lost their 'magical power' or did buyers suddenly not feel the need to be protected anymore? Eye-cups had simply lost the power to please the viewer.

Anthropomorphism raises a smile, but it is not highly comical. The process is used in Old Comedy: as Aristophanes' talking jars (*Wasps* 1437). According to Boardman (2000: 277) 'the whole phenomenon is a combination of visual wit and a matter of vitalizing the inanimate'.²³ Anthropomorphism was a fashion, and the motif of the large eyes with ears and noses is a good example of this phenomenon. The large eyes were neither comical nor unexpected. However, as we will see now, when painters made fun of the eyes or the faces through additional visual puns, the representations became truly comical.

Humour: Corrupted Eyes and Visual Puns

Most visual humour in the context of eye-cups lies in the incongruous corruption of the large eyes. This corruption varies from one painting to another. For example, two large staring eyes with eyebrows and flanked by two large palmettes are displayed on each side of a red-figure cup in Munich.²⁴ On one side, a nose is set between the eyes but, on the other, an *aulos*-case, a flute-case, is hanging in between. Because the viewer expected to see a pair of eyes with a nose, the artist painted an *aulos*-case, which looks like a nose because of its vertical position between two eyes and its narrow shape. *Aulos*-cases are often found hanging in the background of pictures. In this case, the presence of the *aulos*-case is unexpected and amusing. Similarly, on a Chalcidian cup in Copenhagen (fig. 6),²⁵ a dog is shown in full-face between two large eyes. Martens (1992: 316) describes it as a *calembour visuel*, that is, a visual pun. The dog is made to look like a nose: it is sitting upright with its front legs straight and it is looking upwards. The general shape of the dog resembles a thick black vertical line, but, because it is crouching, the rear legs are pointing outwards, recalling the nostrils of noses painted between eyes. But it is not a nose, and there is the essence of a visual pun: it is a harmless game the painter plays with well-known images: on a cup in Boston (fig. 7),²⁶ the nose is a huge erect phallus. The comical

²³ See also a cup in Oxford that has male genitalia instead of a foot. Cup, Attic BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1974.334; (BA 396); Osborne 1998: 134–5, figs. 68–9; AA (1981) 544, figs. 3A–C; Martens 1992: 223–4, 355, figs. 99–100, 160. Lysippides Painter. 530–500 BC. Boardman first published it (1976) and Osborne (1998: 134) notes that just as the foot of the vase is absent, the feet of the drinkers are also hidden from view. He argues that this is a visual pun: 'if they too have no feet, what do they have instead?'.
²⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2581; (BA 200239); ARV² 41.31, 55.11, *Add* 76, *Add*² 159; Vienneis 1990: figs 3.24, 39.2, 67.14, 75.5. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Olton; 525–500 BC.
²⁵ Cup, Chalcidian BF, Copenhagen, National Museum; Mitchell 2004: fig. 4. 530–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.
²⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31d; (BA 200261); ARV² 43.55, 56.23, *Add* 77, *Add*² 159; Vienneis 1990: 210, fig. 34.1. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Olton; 525–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 6. *Visual pun of a dog/nose between large eyes.* Cup, Chalcidian BF, Copenhagen, National Museum. 530–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

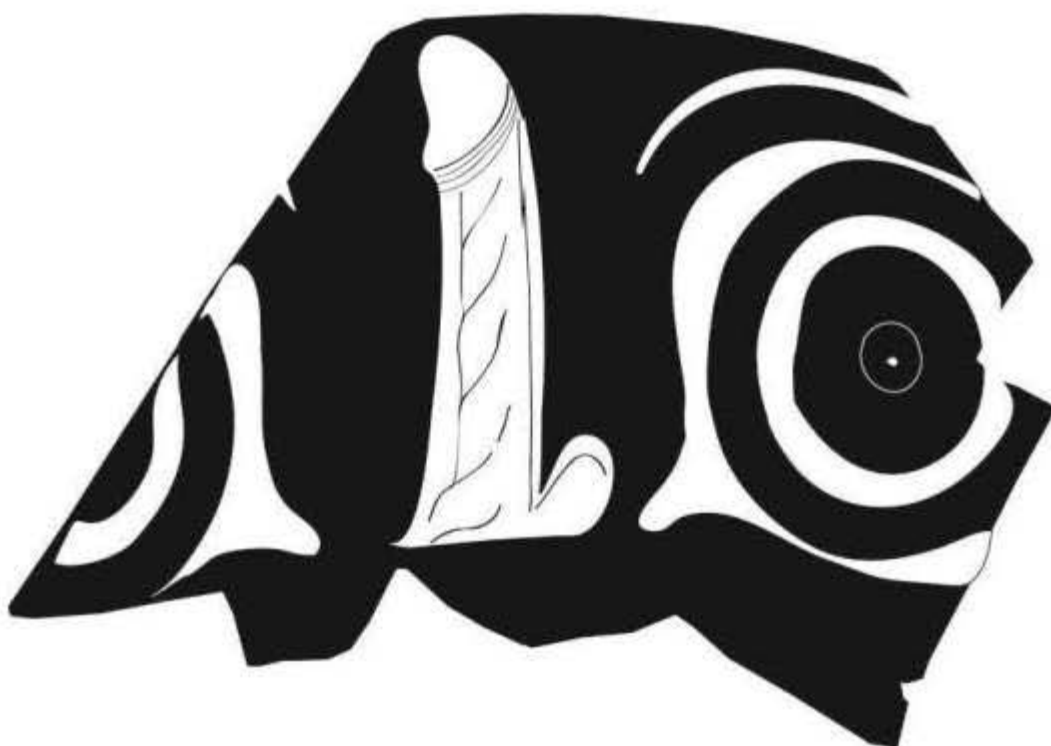


Figure 7. *Visual pun of a penis/nose between eyes.* Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31d; Oltos; 525–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

nature of this image resides in the impossibility of choosing one way or the other to look at the picture. There is no solution: the dog is a nose, and the nose is wagging its tail.

On some vases, the eye itself is transformed: a neck-amphora in London,²⁷ attributed to the Eye-Siren Group, shows Peleus and Thetis between two large eyes. Under one

²⁷ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, British Museum, B215 (1843.11–3.60); (BA 320288); ABV 286.1; Add² 74; CVA, London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.5, pl. 52.1a–d; Steinhart 1995: pl. 4. From Italy, Etruria (Vulci); Eye-Siren Group; 530–510 BC.

handle stands Artemis, under the other, Hermes. Between the eyes, on the other side, stands Apollo. The eyes on both sides are unusual in that they form the body of sirens,²⁸ one male, bearded, the other female; a cup in Rome²⁹ shows an 'eye-ram'. The tear duct is stretched out into a foot and a head emerges like a *protome* from each eye. Even the eyebrow looks like an outlined wing. Sirens were winged, and, apart from the body-eye, these much resemble the ones shown in earlier vase-paintings.³⁰ A black-figure skyphos in Athens³¹ shows a female siren between two female characters. The neck-amphora in London³² shows a male siren, but sirens are usually female, drawing sailors towards their island with their beautiful and magical singing to make the ships shatter helplessly against the reef (Hom. *Od.* 12.1–200). In the centre of the composition, Peleus wrestles with Thetis. The gods had decided that she would marry Peleus, but she refused. She was a sea-goddess and had the power of metamorphosis as shown on a dinos in London.³³ In vase-painting, Peleus is often shown holding her firmly while she is changing into wild animals and waiting for her to cease her transformations. It may have amused the painter to transform the decorative eyes into sirens as a counterpoint to the main scene, as well as adding a beard to a typical female creature. By doing so, the 'male' siren stands by Peleus whereas the 'female' siren assists Thetis.

One of the most comical eye-sirens³⁴ is on a cup in Boston (fig. 8),³⁵ attributed to the Amasis Painter.³⁶ On one side, two figures converse while masturbating. On the other, an eye-siren moves to the right. The iconography is unusual and amusing. Under the handles, the artist has painted a crouching dog, defecating. A similar figure is displayed on a skyphos in Tampa.³⁷ These images 'on the edge' are well known in the later, medieval period, in the form of *marginalia* (Camille 1992: 11–55). The viewer tends to look first at the large painted areas and not at the sides. As sirens do not usually have arms, her

²⁸ See Hofstetter-Dolega 1990.

²⁹ Cup, Attic BF, Rome, Antiquarium Communale, 17417; (BA 2942); Steinhart 1995: pl. 5.1. From Italy, Rome; 530–510 BC.

³⁰ Band cup, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 61.1073; (BA 350341), *Para* 69.3, *Add* 47; CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2, 40, pls. 98.3–4, 99.4. Neandros Potter; 540–530 BC. See also lekythos, Attic BF, Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, 50.105; (BA 352164), *ABV* 587.20, *Para* 293. Beldam Painter; 490–480 BC. And lekythos, London market, Sotheby's, *Sale catalogue* (13.07.1987) no. 274. And lekythos, Attic BF, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal, 37.898; (BA 306893), *ABV* 587.19, *Para* 293; CVA, Laon, Musée Municipal, 17, pl. 18.5–7. Beldam Painter; 490–480 BC.

³¹ Skyphos, Attic BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1113; (BA 46539); CVA, Athens, National Museum 4, 62, fig. 15.1, pl. 57.1–3. From Boeotia, Tanagra; CHC Group; 490–480 BC.

³² London, B215.

³³ Dinon, Attic BF, London, British Museum, 1971.11–1.1; (BA 350099); Moon 1983: 60–1, figs. 4.5a–d. Sophilos; 580–570 BC.

³⁴ See cup fr., Basel, Private collection, H. Cahn HC883; (BA 18403); Steinhart 1995: pl. 5.2. Eye-Siren Group; 530–510 BC. See also hydria, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B342; (BA 301821), *ABV* 335.8; Steinhart 1995: pl. 5.3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; A D Painter; 540–520 BC.

³⁵ Cup, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.651; (BA 310515), *ABV* 157.86, *Para* 65, *Add* 46; CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2, pls. 100.5, 101.1–4; Angiolillo 1997: 154, fig. 87; Boardman 2000: 62, fig. 78; CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2, 43–4, pls. 100.5, 101.1–4. Amasis Painter; 540–525 BC. Photograph © 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³⁶ See also cup, Attic RF, Amherst, Amherst College, 1962.74; (BA 275229), *ARV* 1651.22bis, *Add* 233, *Para* 365, 372. Dokimasia Painter; 490–460 BC.

³⁷ Skyphos, Attic RF, Tampa, Museum of Art, 86.93; (BA 9054); Schäfer 1997: pl. 47.2–3. 490–460 BC.



Figure 8a-b. *Visual pun of a siren/eye on one side of the cup, and a dog defecating below both handles.* Cup, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.651; Gift of Edward Perry Warren; Amasis Painter; 540–525 BC. Photograph © 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

gesture, pointing at the dog, may be significant. She is in motion, which is also unusual. Ordinarily in mythological scenes, they play the *aulos* or the kithara, or like sphinxes, columns or corner-palmettes are used to frame scenes. From the mixture of incongruous elements and visual puns, every part of the Amasis Painter's vase is unexpected.

On a red-figure cup in Cleveland,³⁸ an unusual full-face representation of a falling warrior is shown between two large eyes. The warrior's helmet covers his entire face. His eyes are clearly wide open beneath the helmet's eye-slots. There are three levels of eyes: the large decorative eyes, the helmet's eye-slots, and the warrior's eyes. This *mise en abîme* is not a visual pun, but it uses a similar mechanism to draw the attention of the viewer to the warrior's eyes, like two counterpoints to the large eyes. In the words of Korshak (1977: 23), discussing a neck-amphora in Munich:³⁹ 'By exploiting the tension between the metallic outer face, the helmet, and the real one, visible only through the eyes peering from the mask-like shape of the eye-hole, artists expressed an effective pathetic contrast'.

On a black-figure cup in Cambridge,⁴⁰ a female figure stands between two large eyes. Instead of concentric pupils, two *gorgoneia*⁴¹ have been set in the eyes (Deonna 1957: 60). At first glance, the presence of *gorgoneia* in the eyes seems to affirm that the eyes were half-*gorgoneia* (masks) but, as already argued, large eyes do not originate in the *gorgoneion*. In Greek, the pupil of the eye was called *hē kore* because of the little figure that is reflected in its centre (Soph. F 634; Eur. *Or.* 389; Arist. *An.* 2.8; Plut. *Mor.* 528e). Lissarrague writes: 'Even better, the pupil of the eye, which the Greeks call *kore* (maiden), may be replaced by the grimacing mask of the *gorgoneion*, to convey the fascinating power of the gaze that transfixes the drinker' (1990b: 142–3). In fact, to set one of the most ugly faces known to Greek art in the place the Greeks called 'the young woman' (which usually conveys the idea of beauty) could simply be a joke, thus a visual pun.

Finally, the eye can be made to interact with the narrative of a scene. On a red-figure cup in Boston (fig. 9),⁴² a naked warrior wearing a helmet stands between two large eyes (Delavaud-Roux 1993: 93). Beside him is a shield. Warrior figures are often found between decorative eyes on eye-cups, as on a similar red-figure cup in Munich⁴³ on which a nude soldier is wearing greaves, a helmet, and carries the same large shield, called *hoplon* in Greek. As shown on the cup in Munich, the particular curve of the *hoplon* is such that it could not stand vertically on its edge. The warrior on the Boston cup has found

³⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Cleveland, Museum of Art, 76.89; (BA 200027), ARV² 7.7, 38.8, *Para* 321, *Add* 72, *Add*² 151; CVA, Cleveland, Museum of Art 2, pls. 75.1–2, 76.1–2, 77.1–7. Psiac; 530–500 BC.

³⁹ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1563; (BA 1162), *Add*² 391; Korshak 1977: 23. Etruria, Vulci; Manner of Lysippides Painter; 530–500 BC.

⁴⁰ Cup, Attic BF, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR61.1864; (BA 302605), ABV 202.2, *Para* 92, *Add*² 54; CVA, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1, pls. 18.2a–b, 20.4. Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Cambridge 61; 560–540 BC.

⁴¹ Paris, Louvre, F121.

⁴² Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.83; (BA 200362), ARV² 47.153, 57.40, 1622, *Add* 78, *Add*² 157; B. Cohen 1978: pl. 89.2. Etruria, Vulci; Olto; 525–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁴³ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2603; (BA 200040), ARV² 9.2, 41.39, *Add* 72, *Add*² 151; Seki, T. (1985). *Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Gefäßform und Malerei Attischer Schalen*. Berlin: pl. 7.1–3. Etruria, Vulci; Standard Eye-cups; 530–520 BC.



Figure 9. *Visual pun of man leaning his shield on decorative eyes.* Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.83; Olton; 525–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

a solution by leaning it against the decorative eye. But this is a structural impossibility. The eyes cannot be simultaneously the frame and the content of a scene. When looking at a visual pun, the viewer is disorientated because it is impossible to choose an exclusive way to see the picture.

Shield Devices

Shield devices (tripods, bull heads, horses, snakes, birds, leaves, scorpions, legs, etc.) have been recognized as symbols of families, of cities, and when the device is a satyr-mask⁴⁴ or a *gorgoneion*, these have often been understood as apotropaic. The interest of the following scenes lies in the visual puns created by painters, linking the meaning of shield devices with the narrative of certain scenes.

In the tondo of a red-figure cup in Rome,⁴⁵ a soldier wearing a high-crested helmet and a chitoniskos runs to the right, holding a *hoplon* in his right hand and a lance in his left;

⁴⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC191; (BA 200600), ARV² 76.73, 79.8, 80; LIMC VIII, pl. 774, 'Silenoi' 189. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Epiktetos; 520–490 BC.

⁴⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Torlonia; (BA 200446), ARV² 59.56, 1599.8, Add 80, Add² 164; B. Cohen 1978: pl. 83.3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Olton; 525–500 BC.

his shoulders are frontal and his head turned backwards. His lance is turned behind him. Is he defending himself or is he about to turn back and hurl his lance into his opponent? A red-figure cup in Paris⁴⁶ shows a warrior in almost the same position: he is using his left foot as a pivot to thrust his lance upwards and drive it into the horse's neck. Another red-figure cup in London⁴⁷ shows a soldier, his knee buried in the floor to keep his balance before thrusting his lance. As his *hoplon* is turned upwards, he must be protecting himself against a horse-rider, as on the cup in Paris. The cup in Rome⁴⁸ shows a man fleeing from battle, with his lance perfectly parallel to the floor line. He is a coward. His shield device displays a satyr running. It is an unusual shield device. On the contrary, the dolphins of the Paris cup and the pointed circles of the London cup are quite common. This running satyr is a visual pun. Satyrs are the most fearful creatures in mythology. They only fight in *Gigantomachies*, when they assist Dionysos.⁴⁹

On a cup in Hamburg,⁵⁰ a hoplite is fleeing, his helmet in one hand and his lance and shield in the other. He is half dressed and wears greaves. His shield device is a roaring lion. A *kōmos* of satyrs and maenads is shown on both sides of the cup. Although the roaring lion is often found on shields, one may wonder if this shield device was intended to be a visual pun. A warrior carrying a shield, which could be interpreted as 'I have the courage of a lion', is running away from harm.⁵¹ This visual pun is equivalent to the discrepancy between the words of a bombastic warrior and his actual behaviour. Maybe the warrior wearing a female headdress on a pelike,⁵² showing a number of warriors in full armour, is intended to be understood as an effeminate or a coward: in Greek the word for courage, *andreios*, is based on the root for the Greek word for 'manly'.

Running men as shield devices are found on other vases. In the tondo and on both sides of a cup in Berlin,⁵³ athletes practising the *hoplitodromos* (running in arms) have *hoplitodromoi* painted on their shields. These men are not warriors but athletes, as are the *hoplitodromoi* on a cup in Basel⁵⁴ on which typical elements of the palaestra, such as a sponge, a strigil, an aryballos, and halteres, are suspended in the background. The

⁴⁶ Cup, Attic, Paris, Private collection; (BA 352444), *Para* 334. Poseidon Painter; 515–490 BC.

⁴⁷ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E7; (BA 201341), ARV² 149.16, 1585, *Add* 89, *Add*² 179; *AJA* 75 (1971) pl. 22, fig. 5. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epeleios Painter; 520–500 BC.

⁴⁸ Rome Torlonia.

⁴⁹ See another running satyr depicted on a krater in a sympotic context on a red-figure hydria in Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung, ALG57; (BA 9426); Scheibler, I. (1995). *Griechische Topferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der Antiken Tongefässe*. Munich: 21, fig. 10; Lissarrague 1990b: 98. Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC.

⁵⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1962.134; (BA 275081), ARV² 163.1.3bis, *Add*² 184, *Para* 338; Hoffmann, H. (1969–70) *Vasen der Klassischen Antike*. Hamburg: 26–7, no. 23. Ambrosios Painter; 510–500 BC.

⁵¹ For example, cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1527; (BA 200673), ARV² 83.12, *Add* 84, *Add*² 169, *Para* 329; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 10, III.IB9, pls. 13.6, 14.3. From Boeotia, Tanagra; Skythes; 520–505 BC.

⁵² Cup fr., Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, V653; (BA 200474), ARV² 73, 1623; CVA, Italia 14, Palermo Museo Nazionale 1, pl. 5.1. From Italy, Chiusi; Epiktetos; 520–490 BC.

⁵³ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2307; (BA 203510), ARV² 341.77, 1646, *Add* 109, *Add*² 219; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, pls. 10.3, 11.1–2, 12.1. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Antiphon Painter; 490–480 BC.

⁵⁴ Cup, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS439; (BA 203307), ARV² 323.56, 1604, *Add* 107, *Add*² 215, *Para* 359; ARFH I, fig. 250. Onesimos; 505–480 BC.

shield devices on the cup in Berlin are evidently associated with their bearer. One of the runners' shield devices is, however, a lion and in another is a winged-phallos. Although these examples show that the shield device is not necessarily related to the bearer, runners-in-arms as shield devices of runners-in-arms is a good example of an evident association. This particular example is found on many vases⁵⁵ and may lend further support to the comical interpretation of the cup in Rome.⁵⁶

Vase Function: Is this an Oinochoe or a Pissing Pot?

What is the function of a vase? I have discussed above⁵⁷ the problems of interpreting the 'original' function of vases based on their context of find, references in ancient literature, and their use as shown on vases. However, the following scene proves *a contrario* that some of these hypothetical functions are correct. On a red-figure chous in Malibu (fig. 10),⁵⁸ a bearded *komast* gesticulates widely with his arms, as if he was singing or talking to someone. In fact, his arm waving is probably due to his drunkenness. A youth, possibly his slave, stands unmoved at his side. He is holding his master's cane and a satchel in his left hand, and in his right hand he holds an oinochoe directly beneath his master's penis so that he may relieve himself (Knauer 1986: 94–5; Sparkes 1996: 86–7). The word 'oinochoe' (*oinochoē*) contains the word for wine (*oinos*). The *komast* is evidently misusing this vessel. There are similar scenes in which a *komast* relieves himself in a drinking vessel.⁵⁹ In *Wasps* (807–8), Aristophanes uses the Greek word *amis* for a piss pot. A jug was found at the Athenian Agora⁶⁰ with the inscription "amis Niko". Sparkes (1975: 128) seems to think that someone wanted to keep clear ownership on his piss pot.

⁵⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1966.99; (BA 1926), *Add*³ 397; CVA, Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1, pls. 31.4, 32.4, 34.1–2. Colmar Painter; 500–480 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia; (BA 203565), *ARV*² 353.16; CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.I.11, pl. 9.1–3. Colmar Painter; 500–480 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Rome market; (BA 204573), *ARV*² 418.28, 1652, *Add*³ 235. Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy; 480–470 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC89; (BA 206041), *ARV*² 533.62; CVA, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 4, pls. 167.1–5, 176.1.5, 178.5, 181.1. Alkimachos Painter; 470–460 BC. See cup fr., Attic RF, Gravisca, Excavation, 73.21187; (BA 24119); Huber 1999: 62.217. From Italy, Gravisca; Antiphon Painter; 490–480 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano; (BA 209785), *ARV*² 793.77. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Euaion Painter; 470–460 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Athens, Private collection; (BA 210122), *ARV*² 818.22, *Add*³ 292. From Athens; Telephos Painter; 470–460 BC.

⁵⁶ Rome Torlonia.

⁵⁷ See above, Chapter 1.

⁵⁸ Chous, Attic, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.237; (BA 10147); Vienneis 1990: 298, no. 48.16; CVA, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum 7, 41–2, fig. 16, pl. 365.1–4; Sparkes 1996: 88, fig. iii.18; Schäfer 1997: pl. 27.3. 460–430 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵⁹ Cup, Attic RF, Basel market; Cahn, H. E. (1995) *Kunst der Antike, Katalog* 7 no. 13. See cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G5; (BA 200385), *ARV*² 71.14, *Add*³ 82, *Add*³ 167; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 10, III.I.B.6, pls. 9.2–3, 9.5–8, 10.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. See hydria, Attic BF, Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 438; (BA 43377); Dassen 1993: pl. 61.1a–b. 550–520 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Basel, K4428; (BA 27056), *Para* 332 *Add* 87; CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 2, pls. 7.1, 32.4.8, 38.6. Apollodoros; 510–500 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano; (BA 200211); *ARV*² 369. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; recalls Pythokles Painter; 500–480 BC.

⁶⁰ Fr., Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P2026; *Hesperia* (1935) 4: 494, fig. 16, 72; *Agora* 12, pl. 96, 2013; Sparkes 1975: 128, pl. XIII.



Figure 10. *Man using inadvertently a wine jug as a piss pot.* Chous, Attic, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.237; 460–430 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

2. ANIMALS AND SITUATION COMEDY: THE DISOBEDIENT DOMESTIC ANIMAL

Animals were often used in comic representation. The principle from which much humour derives is that although most animals, especially the domestic or smaller ones, are inferior to humans and cannot act as humans, they are shown doing otherwise: they outrun or gain an advantage over the seemingly ‘superior’ humans. We might call this *inversion*, that is, animals not acting as animals but as humans. Their roles are inverted. This is commonly used in fables and today’s cartoons, read and watched by children and adults all over the world.



Figure 11. *Comedia dell'Arte* with men fighting foxes in a pantry while their own dogs are busy scoffing food. Pyxis, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2517; Painter of Bologna 417; 460–430 BC. Scanned drawing after Furtwängler and Morel 1883: pl. 65.1.

Dogs in a Pantry

On the lid of a red-figure pyxis in Berlin (fig. 11),⁴⁶ two men clad in himatia are threatening with thick sticks two large dogs and a pair of small foxes, which have penetrated into a pantry. A bag full of provisions is hanging in the background. One of the dogs has tipped over a large lekanis and, with his head buried in it, is busily devouring its contents. The other dog, undisturbed by the fracas, is eating the food contained in another large lekanis. One of the foxes has managed to escape from one of the men by climbing

⁴⁶ Pyxis, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2517; (BA 211142), ARV² 917.205, *Para* 430; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, 22, pls. 137.6, 138.1; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Morel 1883: pl. 65.1. From Attica; Painter of Bologna 417; 460–430 BC.

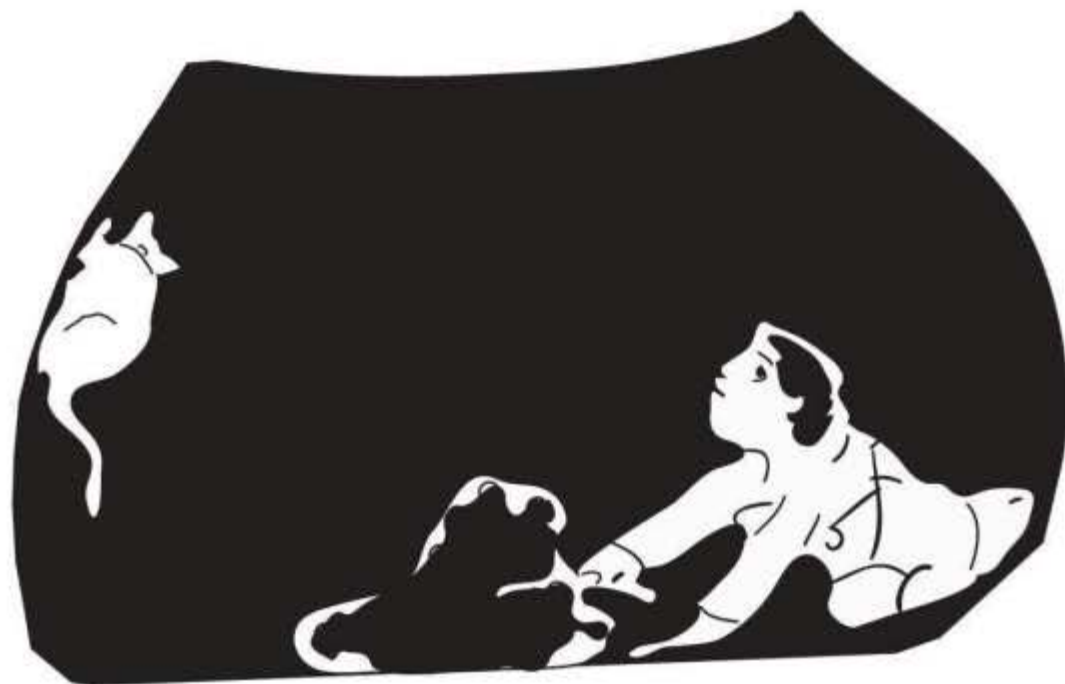


Figure 12. *Child playing with a mouse*. Chous, Attic, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2505; 410–380 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

up a lamp stand. This serves two purposes: escape and making the lamp stand collapse against a food container, which is what the animal was after from the very beginning. The other fox has started its ascent of another lamp stand, on the top of which some food has been placed. Such lamp stands are frequently found in butcher scenes where they were often used to stack slices or chunks of meat well out of reach of animals. As far as the nature of the animals is concerned, the dogs are recognisable from the structure of their body and their non-bushy tail. The two smaller animals are probably foxes, notorious animals for plundering pantries, drawn smaller than they should be in order to fit into the composition.⁶³ Animals frequently seen climbing up poles or sticks in vase-painting are cats. On a lekythos from the New York market,⁶⁴ a youth rests with one hand on his staff and holds a slice of meat in the other, while a cat climbs up the staff to reach for the meat. On a (Boeotian?) pelike in Munich (figs. 13–14),⁶⁵ a cat is climbing

⁶³ Foxes in the UK are still considered legally to be ‘pests’ and can be shot on-site by the proper authorities. Our foxes have also been identified as mice by some scholars, but mice have tiny legs and feet, a short and round body, and a very thin hairless tail, as on a chous in Paris where a baby boy crawls towards a huge bunch of grapes while a mouse escapes to the left. See (fig. 12) chous, Attic, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2505; (BA 10226); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 339, no. 841. From Greece; 410–380 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁶⁴ Lekythos, Attic RF, New York market; (BA 28056); Bothmer, B. v. et al. (1987) *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, Mainz: no. 165. Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC.

⁶⁵ Pelike, Boeotian RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2347. Fig. 13: Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell; fig. 14: Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 13–14. Woman fallen asleep while guarding meat chopped by her butcher husband. A cat is looking up at the food. Pelike, Boeotian RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2347. Fig. 13: Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell; fig. 14: Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

up a lamp stand on top of which some meat is wrapped in a parcel, and on a pelike in Malibu,⁶¹ a cat is perched on the top of a lamp stand, having probably already eaten the food.⁶² A fox caught in a trap, on an askos in Oxford (fig. 15),⁶³ shows the same distinctive tail, and the fox on the famous Aesop cup (fig. 16)⁶⁴ shows the same elongated tail as our Berlin animals.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Pelike fr., Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.476; (BA 21579); Oakley 1997: 222, figs. 11–12. Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

⁶² See Hendrickson 1983; Clutton-Brock 1993; Armitage 1994; Donaldson 1999; and Engels 1999: 10–17, 48–88.

⁶³ Askos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 539; (BA 5746); CVA, Great Britain 3, Oxford 1, pl. 45.1; Hoffmann 1977: pl. 3.1. From Italy, Nola; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁶⁴ Vatican City, 16552.

⁶⁵ One red-figure askos in London, British Museum, E765; (BA 213225), ARV² 971.3, Add¹ 150, Add² 309; Martens 1992: fig. 76, From Italy, Nola; The Class of the Seven Lobster-claws; 450–430 BC, muddies the picture as it seems to show a deer and a fox. The fox's tail is covered with spots as are both dogs' tails on the pyxis lid in Berlin.



Figure 13-14. (continued)

The painting is a genuine scene of situation comedy where the viewer sees everything at a glance: men struggling to protect a pantry and animals climbing, jumping all over the place, pilfering from the reserve.⁷⁰ The scene is particularly comical because such strong dogs are often used to keep animals, such as foxes, out of pantries. But all they

⁷⁰ See further, Chapter 6, 'Visual Immediacy'.



Figure 15. A satyr acting as a hero while his enemy, a fox, is actually immobilised. Askos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 539; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

do is join in the feast, leaving the foxes to their own devices, which frustrates both men all the more. Men running around with sticks evokes the atmosphere of stage comedy. Characters in Aristophanes are often drubbed or threatened to be. Anaxandrides the comic compares the different attitudes of the Greeks and the Egyptians towards animals. Demos describes his own behaviour: 'You worship your dog; I hit mine, if I catch it eating my food' (*fr.* 39; *Ar. Birds* 985; *Knights* 451–6).⁷¹ The Berlin pyxis clearly shows that unpunished mischievousness may at times be as comical as punished mischievousness.

Dogs in Everyday Life: Workshops, Butchers, Symposia, and Altars

Dogs behave in multifarious ways in the company of humans. This is well testified in both literature and in art. In the *Iliad*, they are often described as voracious animals, which accompany vultures in devouring corpses on the battlefield (*Hom. Il.* 1.4). On the other hand, Odysseus's dog, Argos, is portrayed as a faithful companion who waited

⁷¹ See Mainolchi 1984: 152–60.



Figure 16. *Caricature of Aesop(?) chatting with a fox*. Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16552; Painter of Bologna 417; 460–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

patiently twenty years for his master's return. Other dogs were sheepdogs (Pl. *Resp.* 416a), and others were trained to hunt as we know from Xenophon's *Kynegetikon*. They are also described as wandering in the wilderness or in town.

In vase-paintings, most dogs are shown in hunting scenes⁷² (such as the Calydonian Boar hunt) and in connection with warrior departure scenes, warriors on horseback, or at symposia. The presence of dogs is rarely mentioned in vase descriptions, even when their presence is not altogether incidental. Although different species of dogs are in principle distinguishable in vase-painting, only 'Molossian', 'Laconian', and 'Maltese' have been positively identified in vase-painting to date. In the present work, we are particularly

⁷² See Hull 1964.



Figure 17. Side A: Woman holding her nose in the presence of a worker. Side B: dogs breaking everything in a potter's shop. Pelike, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico, 72732; 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

interested in their representations in everyday life scenes where they are often shown as mischievous or gluttonous animals.

A pelike in Florence (fig. 17)⁷³ shows two large dogs wearing collars, standing on their hind legs fighting inside an oil merchant's shop. Their master, who might have just stood up from the seat behind him, threatens them with a stick. The narrow and rather short stick he is holding resembles the siphon often used by oil merchants to permit their customers to taste their oil, as on a lekythos in Boston.⁷⁴ An amphora and four lekythoi are painted between the figures. The dogs have already broken the foot of the second lekythos from the right, while another lekythos is rolling on the floor. The 'unruliness' of domesticated animals is comical in that it reminds us that nature cannot be bound in rules, as society is. Their master is presumably afraid they will devastate the rest of the merchant's store. On the other side of the Florence pelike, an oil merchant dressed in a himation is offering some oil to a woman.

On the first side of the pelike an inscription, starting from the man's chest and ending above the dogs' heads, reads 'KUNA HEMI'. Guarnieri (Razeto 1985: 37) seems to read 'KUNR(AI)EMI' – does the author read *kuon raie me?* – which he then translates as 'Dog, break me!'. But having examined the inscription in person, I cannot corroborate the reading nor the translation. I read 'KUNA HEMI'. Since the letter *beta* is not found as a letter before the turn of the century (Threatte 1980: 42, 493–506; Immerwahr 1990: 141–4), it must be an aspiration 'h'. But, as aspirations are not found in the middle of a word in contemporary inscriptions, these must be two separate words. *Kuna* is 'dog'

⁷³ Pelike, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico, 72732; (BA 9458); Esposito and Tommaso 1993: 288–90, figs. 4–5; Scheibler, I. (1993) *Griechische Topferkunst, Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße*. Munich: 19, fig. 7; Capecchi, G. et al. (1998) *In Memoria di Enrico Paribeni*. Rome: pl. 36. 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁷⁴ Lekythos, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.526; (BA 2930), *ABJ* 209.81, pl. 24.4; Panvini, R. and Giudice, F. (eds.) (2003) *Ta Attika, Attic Figured Vases from Gela*. Rome: 271.D60. From Sicily, Gela; Gela Painter; 520–500 BC.

in the accusative. I have assumed that the second letter of the second word is 'e', but because of the bad preservation of this section of the painting this cannot be confirmed. However, on this basis, the possible verbs for the second word starting with an aspiration are: *hemi* ('half-' never found on its own) or *hiēmi* ('I throw', which does not make much sense in this context). One is left with the overall impression that the merchant is trying to get rid of the dogs. It would be reasonable to imagine him saying 'go' or 'stop now' or even insulting them. The accusative could be explained by a popular expression of the time: (*Ma ton*) *kuna* (Ar. *Wasps* 83; Pl. *Ap.* 21e, *Grg.* 482b) instead of the (*Ma ton*) *Dia* ('By Zeus!'), something like 'you bloody dog' (Lilja 1976: 74–6). But the accusative could also be explained by the second word, a verb that regretfully I cannot identify.

In the case of the Berlin pyxis (fig. 11),⁷⁵ men were overrun by mischievous foxes and dogs. The mechanism is the same here: the scene is amusing because the man cannot stop his dogs from wrecking the shop. He is threatening them with a stick and shouting (regardless of how the inscription is understood) but remains powerless to prevent further damage.

Foxes and cats appear to be greedy animals in vase-painting. They climb up poles or sticks when dogs are more likely to pounce. On a chous at Harvard University,⁷⁶ a child holds high a bunch of grapes (or some meat), forcing a Maltese dog to stand on its hind legs and leap for the food. Dogs jump too when playing with their master, as on a cup in Brussels.⁷⁷ This scene was so common in the everyday life of Athens that it is used as a comical analogy in Aristophanes (*Clouds* 489–91):

Socrates: Right, whatever wise bit of cosmology I toss you, try to snap it up at once!

Strepsiades: What? Must I eat science like a dog?

On a black-figure olpe in Heidelberg,⁷⁸ a man is holding firmly a string of meat while another is chopping it with his *machaira*. In Greek, the word for butcher and sacrificer is the same: *mageiros*.⁷⁹ Although the Heidelberg olpe probably shows sacrificers and not butchers, butchers in other pictures may be nothing more than what they appear to be. A butcher on a pelike in Munich (fig. 14)⁸⁰ wears a loincloth and slices meat with his *machaira*. The association of certain details enables the viewer to identify a ritual scene of sacrifice: a sacrificer's long robe, wreaths in the hair, and an altar. On the Heidelberg olpe, one element could indicate ritual. Although both men are wearing loincloths and there is no altar, they both seem to have wreaths in their hair, which could indicate that they are sacrificers and not butchers. At the sacrificers' feet, a dog is stretching out under a stool, which is covered with slices of meat, and chewing a piece it must have snatched

⁷⁵ Berlin, F2517.

⁷⁶ Chous, Attic RF, Cambridge, Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 24.1908; (BA 13419); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 324, no. 438. 430–410 BC.

⁷⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R350; (BA 3997), ARV² 377.99; CVA, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire 1, III.I.C.2, pl. 4.4. Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC.

⁷⁸ Olpe, BF, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 253; (BA 10598); CVA, Deutschland 10, Heidelberg 1, pl. 39.3. 520–480 BC. See also pelike, Attic RF, Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 486; (BA 202524), ARV² 250.21, 1639; van Straten 1995: fig. 155. Syleus Painter; 500–480 BC.

⁷⁹ On the *mageiros*, see both Berthiaume 1982 and van Straten 1995.

⁸⁰ Munich, 2347.

from the stool. Another dog, standing on all fours with its head turned towards the man holding the *machaira*, is hoping that some pieces will fall or be thrown in its direction. This was a common occurrence, as we know from Aesop in 'The dog and the butcher' (Chambray 1985: Fab. 254): 'A dog ran into a butchery; as the butcher was occupied elsewhere, it grabbed a heart and darted off'.

An amphora in Basel⁸¹ shows a scene comparable to the dogs and foxes in the pantry. On one side, two men are performing a sacrifice at an altar (one is making a libation and the other holds a spit), on the other side, a pack of dogs wreaks havoc, leaping in all directions around another altar. They have dislodged the grill on the altar to get to the meat, which was probably roasting as embers are flying about. In this scene, the humour lies in the men's apparent lack of awareness of the danger. They are concentrating on their task and have no notion that their other altar is being plundered; the one they are working at is probably about to be plundered too.

Many dogs are shown indoors, in symposium scenes. On a cup in Munich,⁸² two young men are reclining. Below them is a table covered with bread loaves and slices of meat. A dog, biting a piece, is strolling to the right. He is one of many 'table dogs' (*kunes trapezēes*) that masters care about only to show off (Hom. *Od.* 17.309–10).⁸³ Although these dogs were probably well fed, they still had a reputation for thievery. The dog on this vase may have stolen the slice of meat from the table. Two delightful comic allegories in Aristophanes (*Knights* 1030–4) may confirm such an interpretation:

Sausage seller: 'Beware, son of Erechtheus, of the dog Kerberos, the trafficker in bodies, who wags his tail at you during your dinner and watches, and when you happen to look in another direction, eats up your entrée, and at night steals into your kitchen all unseen, and doglike licks clean the plates and the islands.'

In *Wasps* (Ar. *Wasps* 836–8), Labes ('thief' in Greek) the dog is on trial: he has stolen and devoured a Sicilian cheese. There is a pun on the name of the strategos, or general, Laches of Aixone who conducted the first expedition to Sicily in 427: 'As if that dog Labes didn't run into the kitchen just now and gobble up a wheel of Sicilian cheese!'

A Misplaced Duck

Incongruity often arouses laughter: when a scene contains a discordant element that is in the wrong place at the wrong time, it may be for comic reasons. Incongruity works in two steps: first, the perception of the incongruity; second, its interpretation. The viewer's attention has been attracted by the anomaly and he must construct mentally from a first incoherent meaning a more satisfying meaning (Todorov 1978: 283–7). In comic incongruity, the image is painted in such a way that the viewer cannot find a satisfying

⁸¹ Amphora, Attic BF, Basel, Private collection; *Das Tier in der Antike* 1974: 54, pl. 56, cat. 325a–b, 530–520 BC.

⁸² Cup, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2082; (BA 340229), *Para* 96.1; CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 13, pls. 26.1–7, 27.1–2, 530–510 BC.

⁸³ See Lazenby, E. D. (1949) 'Greek and Roman Household Pets', *The Classical Journal* 44.4: 245.



Figure 18. *Bathing scene where a duck is shooed away from the basin*. Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E202; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

meaning and must accept an absurdity. The comic incongruity of the following scene on a hydria in London is in the interaction between a woman and a duck, a lively yet absurd relationship in a laundry context.

On a small hydria in London (fig. 18),⁸⁴ attributed to the Washing Painter, two naked women are at a laver. There are two stools in the background and a bag is hanging above the laver. The woman on the right is bringing a bundle of clothes to wash. The woman on the left has cropped hair, as a *pornē*.⁸⁵ A duck is sitting in the laver. Women washing bundles of clothes are quite common in red-figure vase-painting, and especially on vases attributed to the Washing Painter. Some of his display almost the same composition.⁸⁶ The women wash a variety of garments. By examining the London hydria more closely

⁸⁴ Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E202; (BA 214965), ARV2 1131.155, Add2 333; CVA, Great Britain 8, London, British Museum 6, pl. 88.2. From Italy, Nola; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also hydria, South-Italian, RF, Reading, University Museum, REDMG1951.146.1 (R.M. 140.51); RVAp 6/32; CVA, Great-Britain 23, Reading Borough Council 1: pls. 29–30. Painter of Karlsruhe B9. 380–360 BC.

⁸⁵ See further, 'Respectable Women', Hetairai, and Pornai'.

⁸⁶ Hydria, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 296; (BA 214966), ARV2 1131.156, Para 454; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, pl. 32.7–8. Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. See hydria, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 836; (BA 214967), ARV2 1131.157, Add2 333, Para 454; CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 39, pl. 142.1–2.5. Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. See hydria, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G557; (BA 214968), ARV2 1131.158, Para 454; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 9, III.I.D.39, pl. 51.7. Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. See hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E207; (BA 214970), ARV2 1131.160; CVA, London, British Museum 6, III.I.C.5, pl. 88.7. From Italy, Nola; Washing Painter;

(fig. 18), the unusual position of the duck becomes more obvious, a discordant element in the scene. Birds are often found in interior scenes involving women, but not a duck in a laver, nor any other bird in a laver amongst the one hundred and ninety-eight vases attributed to the Washing Painter. There are, however, a number of vases with incongruous ducks. On a hydria attributed to the Group of the Dinos Painter,⁸⁷ a duck stands unnoticed behind a *klismos*, in a corner of the scene. On the London hydria, the duck is at the centre of the composition. If one traces imaginary lines between the eyes of the three figures, it is quite evident that the woman on the left is looking directly at the duck and the woman on the right is observing the other woman. The woman on the left gestures towards the duck as if she were coaxing it out of the laver. Her hand gesture is calm, exposing an open palm. One can imagine her saying something like 'come along now'. Her other hand, however, is oddly positioned with her palm outwards on her pubis, as if to protect herself from the duck. The other woman is probably wondering when she will be able to put the bundle of cloth in the laver.

There could be a parallel to this scene on a black-figure amphora in Athens.⁸⁸ A goose is standing between an *aulētēs* and two listeners. According to Bélis (1992: 499), the goose is out of place. She interprets the presence of the goose as a pun; it would mean the *aulētēs* made a 'goose-note'. The behaviour of the goose looking at the *aulētēs* is unusual, but he does not look at it or interact with it. On a few other vases, birds act peculiarly. On a hydria in Oxford,⁸⁹ a goose is standing between two women, one of whom is holding a mirror. The goose is looking straight up at her. On another vase, a goose is pecking a woman's hand; the scene is probably set in the women's quarters because the woman on the right is seated on a *klismos* and the pecked lady holds a wool reel.⁹⁰ A number of boys are shown kneeling, greeting a pet duck or kissing a pet duck on small choes.⁹¹ Other birds, although they are not involved in the main action of a scene, still seem to be out of place. On a vase in Gotha,⁹² a small web-footed bird is strolling between a man and a woman in a courtship scene. It is incongruous but not comic. On a chous in Athens,⁹³ a boy holds a bunch of grapes in front of a swan while another boy restrains it by gripping one of its feet with both hands (van Hoorn 1951: 350–4). Classical humour

440–420 BC. See column-krater, Attic RF, Kusunacht, Hirschmann Collection, G57; (BA 352503), *Add*² 201, *Para* 349.29bis. Myson; 510–470 BC.

⁸⁷ Hydria, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1113; (BA 215337), *ARV*² 1158.4, *Add*² 337; CVA, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, pls. 143.1–3, 144.2. Dinos Painter; 440–420 BC.

⁸⁸ Amphora, Attic BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 559; (BA 300788), *ABV* 85.1, *Add*² 23; (Shapiro 1989: pl. 20a). Near the Kleimachos Potter; 560–540 BC.

⁸⁹ Hydria, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 297; (BA 207677), *ARV*² 658.19; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, pl. 32.2. Painter of the Yale lekythos; 450–430 BC. See also hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2431; (BA 203095), *ARV*² 299.3, 1643; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, pls. 229.3, 231.3–5, 234.6. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Palermo 1108; 470–450 BC.

⁹⁰ Hydria, Attic RF, Basel market; *MuM* (1980) 47, Auktion 56, no. 105.

⁹¹ For example, chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12468; (BA 16149); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 353, no. 94. 420–400 BC. See also chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 13261; (BA 16150); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 354, no. 98. 420–400 BC.

⁹² Pyxis lid, Attic RF, Gotha, Schlossmuseum, 64; (BA 209111), *ARV*² 736.119, *Add*² 283; CVA, Gotha, Schlossmuseum 2, 15–16, pls. 62.1–2, 63.1–2. Karlsruhe Painter; 470–450 BC.

⁹³ Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1224; (BA 4308); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 349, no. 21. Meidias Painter; 420–390 BC.



Figure 19. *Servant trying to keep horses from drinking wine from a large container.* Northampton Amphora, Ionian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 586; 560–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is often different from what we would like it to be: it often depended, as McDermott (1938: 118) wrote, ‘upon the grotesque, the exaggerated, the unusual and the cruel’. Wickedness is often a form of amusement for children. Although situation comedy usually excluded real pain, there are a few exceptions, notably on choes, where children may ‘torment’ animals.

Horses and Donkeys

Dogs and birds were not the only animals used in comic scenes. Noble animals, such as horses, could also give way to humour. On a Northampton Group amphora in Munich (fig. 19),⁸² a bearded man in a long *chiton* and himation sits on a cushioned stool holding a staff in his right hand. He reaches out for a kylix brought to him by a young servant. The latter holds an oinochoe in his left hand, from which he is about to pour wine into his master’s kylix. On the right, two horses are drinking from a decorated wine container, as lavers are usually much larger and shallower. Both actions are part of the same scene: the servant is looking backwards towards the horses; the master is not drinking in the stables. The presence of the horses is incongruous and surprising. The behaviour of the servants now makes sense: one servant is trying to hold the horses back, away from the krater, while the other, instead of handing a kylix to his master, turns back, amazed by the situation. Horses were noble animals, a sign of aristocratic excellence and shown in a wide range of scenes, but they rarely behave like donkeys, which are very often depicted in comic and wine-related scenes.⁸³ It is both surprising to find an animal drinking from a krater and comical to see a horse behaving like a donkey. There is a comparable depiction on a mug in Berlin where a horse whose upper body is a phallus approaches a wine

⁸² Northampton Amphora, Ionian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 586; Pfuhl 1924: pl. 34; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 6, pls. 297.1, 298.1–4; 560–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁸³ See further, ‘Another Tricked Trickster: The Return of Drunk Hephaistos to Olympus’ in Chapter 3, Section 2, and ‘Gluttony, Satyr-Style’, in Chapter 4, Section 2.

container.⁹⁶ A clay figurine of the early fifth century in Munich⁹⁷ represents a grotesque donkey behaving like a drunken man. Sitting on its behind, with a protruding belly, mouth wide open, it is gesticulating with its four feet in the air. Although a drunken donkey is something of an expected representation, its comical humanization is unexpected and enhanced through its gestures.

3. EVERYDAY LIFE STEREOTYPES AND COMIC ARCHETYPES: COMIC WOMEN

Women are lazy, they gossip, they drink behind their husband's back, and are sex-crazed: just a few among many images where one can almost feel the Greek male gaze staring us in the face.⁹⁸ Whether some women were artisans and worked as potters or painters, these representations clearly stem from a male perception of women's activities. There has been quite a lot of research on women's roles and status,⁹⁹ and iconography.¹⁰⁰ Before launching into the analysis of comic representations that either contradict or confirm some of these views, a few iconographical and historical difficulties need to be addressed to differentiate 'women' in Greek iconography.

'Respectable Women', *Hetairai*, and *Pornai*

'Respectable' women seem to be, in the ancient Greek male view based on our written evidence, lawful married wives who stayed at home to carry out domestic duties, such as carrying water and spinning wool. There are, in Greek, many ways of referring to a married woman. The 'lawful wedded wife' was called *kouridiē alochos*, in contrast to

⁹⁶ Mug, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2320; (BA 201490), ARV² 157.84, Add 81, Add² 181; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, pl. 144.4–6.8–9; Dover 1978: no. R 259. Painter of Berlin 2268; 500–480 BC.

⁹⁷ Clay figurine, Munich, Antikensammlungen, SL122; Pfisterer-Haas 1993:140. Fifth century BC.

⁹⁸ Laughing at women or women's humour is a huge topic in our contemporary culture. See for example: Brown, J. (1988) "Women-Bashing Comics: The Joke's On Us". *Mademoiselle* 94.4: 134; Dolan, J. (1984) "What, No Beans – Images of Women and Sexuality in Burlesque Comedy". *Journal of Popular Culture* 18.3: 37–47; Horn, M. (1977) *Women in the Comics*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers; Ito, K. (1994) "Images of Women in Weekly Male Comic Magazines in Japan". *Journal of Popular Culture* 27.4: 81–95; Ito, K. (1995) "Sexism in Japanese Weekly Comic Magazines for Men", in *Asian Popular Culture*. John Lent (ed). Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 127–37; Klein, S. (1993) "Breaking the Mold with Humor: Images of Women in Visual Media". *Art Education* 46.5: 60–5; Kramarae, C. (1974) "Stereotypes of Women's Speech: The Word from Cartoons". *Journal of Popular Culture* 8.3: 624–30; Moore, T. E., Griffiths, K., and Payne, B. (1987) "Gender, Attitudes Towards Women, and the Appreciation of Sexist Humor". *Sex Roles* 16.2: 521–31; Oakes, K. K. (1996) "I Like a Woman to be a Woman": Theorizing Gender in the Humor of Stowe and Greene". *Studies in American Humor* NS4.3: 14–38. On the other end of the spectrum: see Swords, B. (1992) "Why Women Cartoonists are Rare, and Why That's Important", in *New Perspectives on Women and Comedy*. Regina Barreca (ed). Philadelphia, PA: Gordon and Breach: 65–84; Walker, N. A. (1991) "Toward Solidarity: Women's Humor and Group Identity", in *Women's Comic Visions*. June Sochen (ed.). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press; Walker, N. A. and Dresner, Z. (1994) "Redressing the Balance", in *American Women Humorists: Critical Essays*. Linda A. Morris (ed.). New York, NY: Garland: 33–60; Warren, R. (ed.) (1994) *The Best Contemporary Women's Humor*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

⁹⁹ For an overview, see Pomeroy 1975; Blundel 1995; and O'Higgins 2003.

¹⁰⁰ See Keuls 1993; Lissarrague 1998; and Lewis 2002.

the 'concubine' or *pallakē* whom we find already in Homer (*Il.* 19.298). By taking a middle-view between Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and Aristophanes' plays, one may try to recreate what the Greek view of women might really have been. Through the voice of Ischomachos, Xenophon gives the reader the image of what he thinks a 'good' woman should be. A wife in her household is compared to a queen bee in a hive. Further in the text, Ischomachos replies to his wife who has asked him what she ought to do to be more beautiful (Xen. *Oec.* 10.10):

Don't sit about for ever like a mistress: stand before the loom and be ready to instruct those who know less than you, and to learn from those who know more: look after the baking-maid: stand by the housekeeper when she is serving out stores: go round and see whether everything is in its place. For I thought that would give her a walk as well as occupation. I also said it was excellent exercise to mix flour and knead dough; and to shake and fold cloaks and bedclothes; such exercise would give her a better appetite, improve her health, and add natural colour to her cheeks. Besides, when a wife's looks outshine a maid's, and she is fresher and more becomingly dressed, they're a ravishing sight, especially when the wife's is also willing to oblige, whereas the girl's services are compulsory.

Aristophanes, on the other hand, exaggerates what he considers to be women's traits. But it is tempting to consider his accounts truer than Xenophon's. As noted earlier,¹⁰¹ Aristophanes won many dramatic competitions, and the decision of the jury, which was composed of democratically appointed men, probably reflected popular sentiment in contrast to that of an elite, represented by writers, such as Xenophon.

In iconography, 'respectable women' are usually depicted indoors, sitting and working wool or handling perfumes. They wear long garments and their hair is usually kept under a *sakkos*, a hair net. Although the expression 'respectable woman' is a cliché (Boardman 1992: 240), I use it for convenience. On one side of a pyxis in Athens,¹⁰² a woman is working wool. Further, another woman, seated under a suspended mirror, is spinning. A third woman is reclining under an alabastron (oil flask or perfume vase).¹⁰³

The dispute over Athenian women's status has generated much scholarship, and from an iconographical perspective, in recent years Lewis's book (2002) offers the best treatment of the iconography of Athenian women. The terms of the controversy have not changed much since Pomeroy's assessment of the situation. There are three scholarly opinions: women were despised and secluded; they were respected and enjoyed freedom; or they were secluded but still valued as far as ruling the house was concerned (Pomeroy 1975: 58). There are many representations of female citizens at public fountains,¹⁰⁴ although some scholars still believe, against the evidence, that these women can only be

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 1, 'Introduction'.

¹⁰² Pyxis, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1584; (BA 7898), ABL 101; CVA, Athens, Musée National 1, III.I.C.4–III.I.C.5, pl. 6.1–3; Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997: pls. 24–5. 480–460 BC.

¹⁰³ According to Keuls (1993: 119–20), the presence of an alabastron in some scenes (see Lebes gamikos, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikenmuseum, F2406; (BA 216677), ARV² 1225.1, *Add²* 350; Keuls 1993: fig. 104b. From Athens; Group of Berlin 2406; 440–420 BC) indicates the dutiful service of oiling the husband's penis after sex; the evidence does not seem to support this assertion.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, hydria, Attic RF, Bari, Museo archeologico, 3083; (BA 301817), ABV 334.4, *Add²* 91; Bérard and Vernant 1984: fig. 9. A D Painter; 530–510 BC.

servants or slaves. The issue of status is misleading because the 'broad range of scholarly opinions results from treating women as an undifferentiated mass' (Pomeroy 1975: 60). There were women of different social status, and poorer women would leave the house for work without being servants, slaves, or prostitutes. As an illustration of social ideology, Xenophon's statement on how it was more 'honourable' for women to stay indoors than to attend work outside (Xen. *Oec.* 7.30) was likely to concern most urban Athenian women. In reality, this probably concerned only a small percentage of the female population. If rich women had merchants or craftsmen coming to their homes, slaves to fetch water, most women probably left the house to fetch water, wash clothes, borrow utensils, and went out shopping at the market. This is not to mention the peasant women who worked the fields.

Many drunks are shown in vase-painting, as on a chous in New York (fig. 20)¹⁰⁵ where a drunken husband with the typical drinker's headband comes home. He is half naked and knocks roughly at the door with a stick. His wife, on the other side of the door of his house (the roof is indicated by tiles), is hesitating, with her right finger brought to her mouth in a gesture of anguish, but comes forward holding a lamp in her left hand. She could be thinking what Philokleon tells Bdelykleon in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1253-5): 'No, it is a bad thing to drink; from wine come broken doors (*thurokopēsai*), beatings, thrown stones; and then the money to be paid after a drunken bout'.

It is interesting to see what lies behind the interpretations of some depictions of women. Some scholars have understood this scene as a man knocking on a *hetaira's* door, because it seemed to them that only 'fallen' women opened front doors themselves. This interpretation is generally based on the statements made by the Attic Orators (*Lys.* 3.6-7; *Dem. Everg.* (47) 53; *Lycurg. Leoc.* 40), Xenophon (*Oec.* 7.14), whose character says: 'My duty, as my mother told me, is to be discreet' (*sōphronein*), and more specifically on Theophrastos commenting on lurid women: 'They [women] answer the front door

'To say that a woman talked to men, or even that she opened the front door herself, was tantamount to calling her a trollop' writes Blundell (1995: 135), with great irony. Segregation is not seclusion. It is not so much the fact of answering the door or being at the door that was forbidden, it was seducing men at the door of their husband's house.¹⁰⁶ If the woman was of high status, she would send her slaves to open the front door. In large houses, the women's quarters are usually thought to be the rooms the furthest from the street, and according to archaeological records women living in these houses did not have direct access to the front door. In some cases, the woman's quarter might have been on a second floor. The poorer Athenian women, even if they possessed a slave, had to open the front door or go out on different errands. They fetched water at the communal well, which was a female space *par excellence* in most cultures, and where women from various households met to exchange news, pester about their husbands, and cover a

¹⁰⁵ Chous, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.11.19; (BA 539); Keuls 1993: 67, fig. 48; Sparkes 1977: fig. 60. 440-420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁰⁶ This fear seems to be based on issues of property and inheritance, not just honour. The property, *kleros*, was passed on a son from a 'legitimate' wife. If she had a son from another man than her rightful husband, the family inheritance line would be broken.

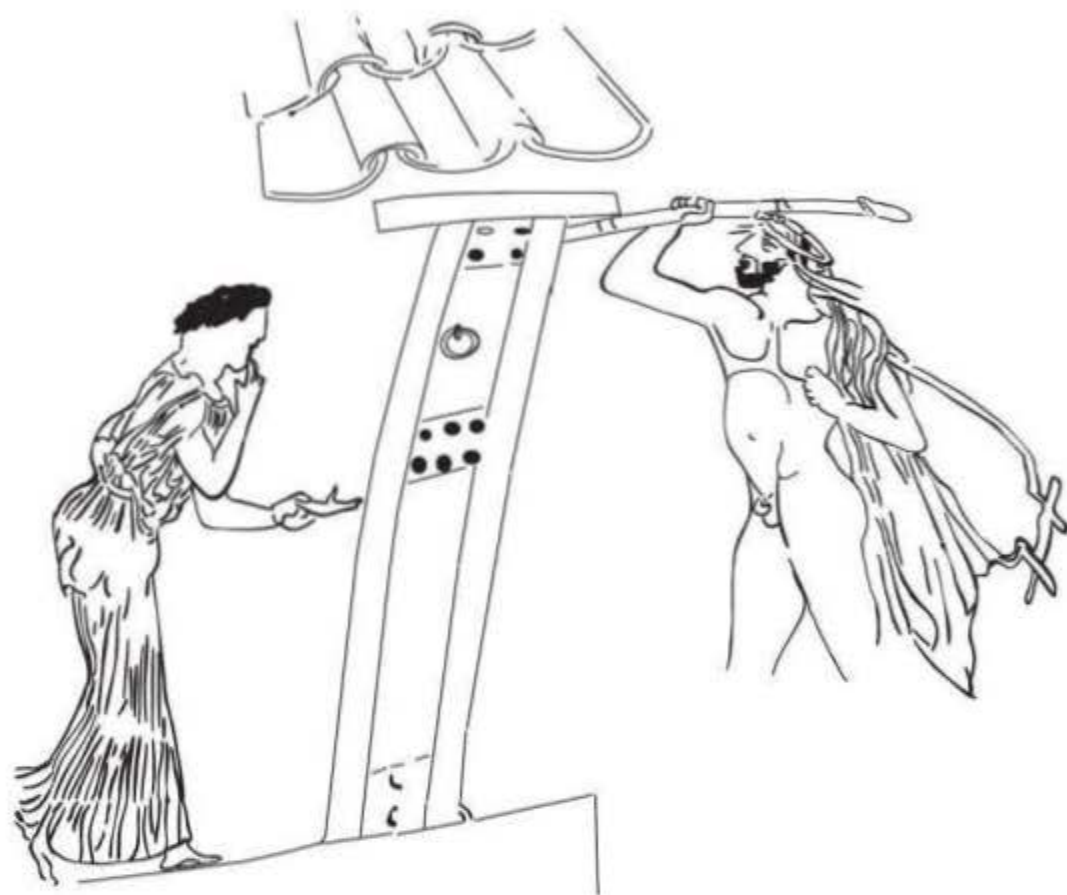


Figure 20. Drunk man banging a door with his stick at night. Tentative woman on the other side holding an oil lamp. Chous, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 37.11.19; 440–420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

million other topics of conversation (Ar. *Lys.* 327–31). Does not Aristotle write: ‘Who could prevent the wives of the poor from going out when they want to’ (Pol. 1300a). One could correct the ‘want to’ to ‘need to’. They had to leave the home to help out other women as midwives or sell goods at the market-place. There is textual evidence for goods sold by women at the market: ribbons (Dem. *Eubul.* [57] 31, 34), garlands (Ar. *Thesm.* 448), vegetables (Ar. *Thesm.* 387, *Wasps* 497), and bread (Ar. *Wasps* 1390–1). Women’s networks of friends and neighbours worked in parallel with the men’s (Blundell 1995: 137). A passage in Euripides (*Andr.* 950) condemns the pernicious influence of some women who visit their female neighbours, but this condemnation indicates that it was a common occurrence (D. Cohen 1989: 88–9).

Greek vase-painting is an art of *raccourci*; it gives few but significant details to understand a scene: there is nothing in the scene to indicate that the woman on the chous in New York (fig. 20) is a *hetaira*.¹⁰⁷ Her hair is long (the missing element – there is a crack

¹⁰⁷ New York, 37.11.19. On the various aspects of *hetaira*, see R. E. Sutton Jr. 1981; Peschel 1987; Reinsberg 1989; D. Williams 1993; and Kurke 1997.

in the vase – is easily restored: her hair is attached in a bun) and not short, as is often the case in representations of prostitutes or *hetairai* (they often were slaves); she is dressed and not naked, but most important she has not opened the door, and from her body language and the gesture of her trembling hand brought to her lips, she is frightened. It seems likely that a *hetaira*, being more self-assured and having to show less modesty than ‘respectable women’, would be shown opening the door or grabbing a youth from the doorstep. A cup in New Zealand¹⁰⁸ shows on both sides a symposium and in the tondo a youth who just entered a *hetaira*’s house. It is often difficult to assess in many pictures if a woman is indoors or outdoors, only from her presence at a door. The tondo of the cup in New Zealand shows some furniture, which indicates that the scene is most likely indoors. Yet, there is a substantial number of pictures of women standing outdoors and it is doubtful that they should be ‘trollops’. There are at least twenty-two vases showing women at doors in the Beazley Archive database, of which fourteen depict them as such, neither running away or towards the door, nor taking part in a wedding procession, nor in the company of a Nike.

There were two major kinds of female prostitutes: the *pornai* and the *hetairai*. The traditional view is that the *pornē* was a lowly, independent streetwalker or a prostitute belonging to a brothel where she catered for a great number of absolute strangers: the *hetaira*, however, was a mistress of one or two lovers who supported her financially. She offered her company for discussions, play, and sex. According to Kurke (1997: 106–50), the binary relationship between the *pornē* and the *hetaira* is a discursive and ideological construct; both words should be considered as concepts used in different modes and contexts.

It is sometimes difficult to differentiate *pornai* from *hetairai* in Greek vase-paintings. Are there any *pornai*? Female slaves have short hair, and *pornai* were often slaves. But slaves in a love scene are not necessarily prostitutes, as we already know from Xenophon (*Oec.* 10.10) that their ‘services are compulsory’. A clue *a contrario* to differentiate *pornai* from *hetairai* would be that *hetairai* are often dressed like ‘respectable women’: they are seated on *klismoi*, some are even shown spinning wool while waiting for the next customer. In these scenes, a man usually carries a satchel of money or a satchel hangs in the background (Keuls 1993: 260–6).¹⁰⁹ These depictions are quite different from the naked women performing wild sex on many a vase.¹¹⁰ Lévy (1976: 105) writes that high-flying courtesans, such as the expensive *Lais*, must be distinguished from the anonymous *pornai* that populate banquets (*Ar. Ach.* 1091) and work at the City gates (*Ar. Knights* 1400, 1403), inside the Kerameikos (*Schol. Ar. Knights* 772), or at Piraeus.

However, the naked talkative women found at symposia, such as those on hydria in Munich (fig. 21),¹¹¹ are much more likely to be *hetairai* than *pornai*. In any case, women

¹⁰⁸ Cup fr., Attic RF, Christchurch (New Zealand), Canterbury Museum, AR430; (BA 205184), ARV² 438.138; Peschel 1987: pls. 157–8. From Italy, Orvieto; Douris; 500–460 BC.

¹⁰⁹ See also Rodenwaldt 1932.

¹¹⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G13; (BA 200694), ARV² 1578.16, 86, Add 84, Add² 170; Peschel 1987: pls. 37, 40; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 19, pls. 68.1–2, 69.1–3. Pedieus Painter; 520–505 BC.

¹¹¹ Hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421; (BA 200126), ARV² 23.7; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, pls. 222.1, 223.1–2, 225.2, 226.5, 10; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold



Figure 21. *Beautiful hetairai discussing at symposium*. Hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421; Phintias; 525–510 BC. Scanned drawing after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 71.

going out to parties with men were not lawful wedded wives. The scenes in which a woman is performing sex on a one-to-one basis instead of group sex (often in the tondo of cups, where the man faces the woman) are perhaps depicting *hetairai* too. The ‘cheap position’ called *kubda* was known to be performed mainly by streetwalkers or ageing prostitutes (Halperin 1990: 109–12). Hipponax (1.3) also writes about fellatio prices: ‘She asks eight obols for her tongue’s service’ (*ēmiekton aitei tou phaleō kolaps’aie*). Some love-making scenes might have depicted ‘respectable women’ too. Dover (1973: 281) rightly argues:

When every allowance is made for comic convention, the central idea of the play [Lysistrata], that a sex-strike by citizens’ wives against their husbands can be imagined as having so devastating an effect, implies that the marital relationship was much more important in people’s actual lives than we would have inferred simply from our knowledge of the law and our acquaintance with litigation about property and inheritance.

To sum up, as in textual evidence, the limits between different statuses in vase-painting are slightly blurred; the painters used identifying details from each category to embellish or degrade another category of women. But, in most circumstances, clues are present to aid in the identification of *hetairai*, *pornai*, and respectable women. I will consider, in this study of caricatured women, hired women as *hetairai*, except in some cases when I will argue them to be *pornai*.

1904–32: pl. 71. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Phintias; 525–510 BC. See also psykter, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1670; (BA 200078), ARV² 16.15, 1619, *Add* 73, 509, *Add*² 153; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 63. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Euphronios (signature); 520–505 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 80.AE.31; (BA 275008), ARV² 1620.12bis, *Add*² 155; Moon 1983: 150, dif. 10.7.a–b. Phintias; 525–510 BC.

Women were frequently the target of male jokes and criticism. Hesiod writes, well before the time of the vases observed here:

Marry a maiden, so that you can teach her careful ways and especially marry one who lives near you, but look well about you and see that your marriage will not be a joke to your neighbours. For a man wins nothing better than a good wife, and, again, nothing worse than a bad one, a greedy soul who roasts her man without fire, strong though he may be, and brings him to a raw old age. (*Op.* 699–705)

In Aristophanes' plays, women are not the bashful creatures one encounters in a number of sources but promiscuous and gluttons (Lévy 1976: 102–3). Citizens' wives and daughters did not take part in symposia because, among other reasons, women were considered to be incapable of rational discussion. Women such as Diotima or Aspasia were exceptions to this stereotype.

Women were not strictly isolated from the outside world but had so much to do maintaining their household that they had little spare time for anything else. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (16–19), Kalonike says: 'It's difficult to get out of the house this early. We've got to do our husbands little favours, we've got to get the servants out of bed, we've got to put the children to bed, wash them and feed them'. Probably men thought that if a woman was seen outdoors, she was neglecting her household duties and therefore was 'unrespectable'. A couple of lines in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 493–4; *Assembly* 817–22) lead some scholars to think that only men or slaves went shopping. It is not because two men are doing their shopping at the market-place on Aristophanes' comic stage that no 'respectable women' went out shopping in the real world. Herodas's poetical activity is assigned to the early third century BC. He gives us an extensive list of women's shoes (*Mimes* 7.56–61): 'You will see for yourselves: here are all kinds: Sikyonians, little Ambrakians, Nossises, plains, greens, hems, Baukises, slippers, Ionics with buttons, night-walkers, boots, crabs, Argive sandals, scarlets, youths, flats'.

Shoes had to be made to fit exactly to measure and this required one or more fittings by the customer, both men and women: one should remember that 'ready-made' clothing and shoe-ware is a recent phenomenon. From the evidence shown on vase-paintings, customers went to the cobbler's workshop for this. On a neck-amphora in Boston,¹¹² two shoemakers work in their shop on a woman's sandal. Tools for carving leather and boots are hanging in the background. The female customer who is standing on the table is not in fact a young girl but a woman shown smaller than the other figures so as to fit in the composition. A similar representation on a pelike in Oxford¹¹³ shows what appears to be a boy standing on a cobbler's worktable but is in fact a man as he has facial hair.

A black-figure amphora in Brussels (fig. 22)¹¹⁴ shows, on one side, a portly woman about to taste wine from a merchant's amphora. On the other side, another woman

¹¹² Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8035; (BA 2188); CVA, Boston, 1, pls. 37, 38.3, 4. From Italy, Orvieto; 530–510 BC.

¹¹³ Pelike, Attic BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V563; (BA 302990), ABV 396.21, 696, Add² 104, Para 173; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 2, 99, pl. 8.7–8. From Rhodes; Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC.

¹¹⁴ Cup, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R279; (BA 320419), ABV 299.20, Add² 78; Böhr 1982: pl. 166–7. Princeton Painter; 550–530 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 22. *Fat woman at the market*. Cup, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R279; Princeton Painter; 550–530 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is also about to taste wine from a squatting man's wineskin. Both women are grossly overweight and wrinkled. The second woman might even have the hint of a hairy chin. These women are not young and modest beauties as depicted elsewhere. On a pelike in Tarquinia,¹¹⁵ a merchant offers a woman a taste of some oil. With the exception of her face, she is entirely covered in a mantle; even her hand, bent backwards in modesty, is covered in cloth, as similarly shown on a number of other vases.¹¹⁶ The Brussels women are not depicted as 'modest' young women but as ugly, old, and stocky women. They have the portly appearance of *oikodespoinai*. They are 'mistresses of the family' protected from all sexual attacks because they are respectable middle-aged mothers who have no need for modesty in the virginal sense of the word. The presence of wine, hinted by the wineskin on the other side of the vase, brings to mind Aristophanes' views on women's taste for wine. These women could be 'much nearer the norm of Athenian life

¹¹⁵ Pelike, Attic BF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC1063; (BA 8235); CVA, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, III.H.10, pl. 36.1–2. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Painter of Boston 01.8035; 510–490 BC.

¹¹⁶ Lekythos, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 84.AE.745; (BA 16202); *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (1989) 4: 124–5, figs. 5a–d. Circle of Timokrates Painter; 470–460 BC. See also pelike, Attic RF, London market; (BA 45356), Sotheby's, Sale catalogue (8.7.1993) 39, no. 258. 440–420 BC. See amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Private collection; (BA 206990), ARV² 604.51, 1661, Add² 267. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Niobid Painter; 460–440 BC. And pelike, Attic BF, Mykonos, Archaeological Museum; (BA 302994), ABV 396.25. From Delos, Rheneia; Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC. Also pelike, Attic RF, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 42; (BA 202574), ARV² 285.1, Add² 209; CVA, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, pl. 32.1. Painter of Vienna 895; 480–460 BC. And pelike, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F376; (BA 302932), ABV 393.16; De Waele 1926: 293–5, fig. 6. Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC.



Figure 23. *Snooty servant holding her nose in the presence of a worker.* Stamnos, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.37; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

than those cloistered ladies [yet idealised] who were embarrassed by the presence even of a male relative' (Dover 1973: 69).

On the other side of a pelike in Florence we have already discussed (fig. 17),¹²⁷ a woman faces an old oil merchant sitting on an upturned basket. She closely resembles the woman in Tarquinia, as she is entirely clothed in a mantle. Three details differ: the old man is taking hold of her arm, he says 'KALON EI', and the woman pinches her nose. 'KALON EI' could be *kalon ei* ('you are good', talking 'to' the wine) or *kalon ē* ('may it be good'); the general meaning is 'It's good!' The opinion of the woman is clearly shown by her gesture: a gesture that is also found on a stamnos in New York (fig. 23).¹²⁸ The main scene shows Danae and Perseus exiled by Akrisios. They will be placed in a chest,

¹²⁷ Florence, 72732. For a description of the other side of this pelike, see Chapter 2, 'Dogs in Everyday Life'.

¹²⁸ Stamnos, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.37; (BA 205587), ARV² 498.1, 1656, Add¹ 123, Add² 250, Para 381; Richter and Hall 1936: vol. 2, pl. 85, no. 82. From Italy, Rome; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

which is being fixed by a carpenter, as on other vases depicting this scene.¹²⁹ On the other side of the New York stamnos, a carpenter, perhaps the same figure, turns away from a seated woman bearing a sceptre (queen Eurydike?). Between the two figures, a servant named 'Damolute' is bringing a chest to her mistress, as on so many vase-paintings and reliefs. Damolute is pinching her nose and the queen brings her fingers to her mouth in dismay or as if she was threatened. To pinch one's nose signifies that something does not smell good or is disagreeable (Richter and Hall 1936: 112). If the young servant makes this gesture, it could be because she finds the situation detestable. Gestures are culturally defined, and it is difficult even today to know explicitly what a person from a different culture means by certain gestures. But a man defecating and pinching his nose because of the smell on a fragment in Athens (fig. 3),¹³⁰ which is discussed further, confirms this interpretation. Not only may the gesture mean that something smells, it may mean something smells 'bad'. Damolute could be referring to the perfumes she is bringing, but she is turning away from the craftsman who is shown naked from waist up, and is probably sweating after working on Danae's wooden chest.¹³¹ The humour of Damolute's gesture resides in the fact that the main scene is tragic, but her gesture could be anything but tragic. Maybe Damolute is bringing the perfumes for two reasons: for the viewer, she has to be identified as a servant, and she also may be trying to get rid of the worker's smell. On the Florence pelike, the woman is not necessarily being modest, she could be pinching her nose in distaste because of the smelly merchant who is grabbing her by the arm. Aristophanes (*Clouds* 46–52), in his caustic description of Koisyra, the new wife of Strepsiades, evokes the archetype of the haughty woman:

And then I married the niece of Megacles, Megacles' son. Farmer weds urbanite, a snobby, spoiled clothes-horse kind of girl. When we hitched, I climbed up to the wedding bed smelling of new wine, figs, fleeces and good produce; while she smelled of perfume, saffron, tongue-kisses, expense, of overeating and Aphrodite's shrines.

Comic Archetypes: The Sleeping Guardian or the Lazy Woman

A key to humour is to understand that comic authors and artists had always known that certain comic archetypes always produced the same comical results – the above snob being probably one of them. The sleeping guardian is one such comic archetype. The

¹²⁹ Pelike frg, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.199; (BA 195); CVA, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum 7, 71, fig. 5, pls. 341–2, 347.1–2. Geras Painter; 510–490 BC. See also hydria, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.200; (BA 202466), ARV² 247.1, *Add* 100, *Add* 202, *Para* 350; Morris, S. (1992) *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. Princeton: fig. 4. From Italy; Gallatin Painter; 500–480 BC. And stamnos, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1357; (BA 202231), ARV² 228.30, 1637, *Add* 99, *Add* 199, *Para* 347, 510; LIMC III, pl. 247, s.v. 'Danae' 41. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC. See also calyx-krater, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1723; (BA 203792), ARV² 360.1, 1648, *Add* 110 *Add* 222, *Para* 364, 512; LIMC III, pl. 247, s.v. 'Danae' 48. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC.

¹³⁰ Athens, National Museum 2. 1073.

¹³¹ One must take care, however, in this interpretation, as it also resembles gestures of mourning: Fr., Attic BF, Athens, Agora Museum, P18567; (BA 305111), ABV 43.4, *Add* 12; Bakir, G. (1981) *Sophilos, Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil, Keramikforschungen IV*. Mainz am Rhein: pl. 83, fig. 171, no. B19. From Greece, Athens Agora; Near Sophilos; 580–570 BC.

guardian, whose sole purpose is to guard something of value, falls asleep on his watch. Add this archetype to another of the lazy woman, and the comic cocktail is twice as potent. Another fact to keep in mind is that Greek vases often show more than one scene. Though they are not always related, sometimes a humorous representation can only be understood by comparing both sides of a vase. A pelike in Munich (fig. 13)¹²² is a perfect example of this problem: a woman is seated on a *klismos* with her left hand on her thigh, reclining. In front of her is an elevated lamp stand, on the top of which has been placed a small bundle of cloth. A cat perches on the foot of the lamp stand. On the other side, a butcher is cutting meat with his *machaira* (fig. 14). On this pelike, the two sides must be observed as one complete narrative. From the pictures we have already seen or referred to with butchers and dogs¹²³ or with cats climbing up a cane or lamp stands,¹²⁴ it is likely that the cat in this painting is climbing up the pole because it has sensed food under the cloth. It must be meat that the butcher on the other side of the vase has already cut and has placed there expressly to be out of reach of the cat. The woman seated in front of the pole is leaning her head on her right hand. Her eyes are shut; she is sleeping. It is rare to find a figure sleeping in such a fashion. In vase-painting, although there are a few pictures that include sleeping figures, such as Herakles, Polyphemos, Ariadne, Medusa, Geryon, Alkyoneus, most sleeping female figures are maenads about to be raped by satyrs. It seems that during the figures' sleep, something always happens. Satyrs try to rape maenads or rob Herakles' weapons, and Odysseus blinds Polyphemos. The only two scenes where nothing happens are a woman holding a sleeping child in her arms¹²⁵ and an archer sleeping on a cup in Basel (fig. 31),¹²⁶ which we will come back to.¹²⁷ The woman on the pelike in Munich was supposed to keep an eye on the meat but fell asleep 'on duty'. She is a comic archetype: the sleeping guardian. She also conforms to a Greek male stereotype of lazy women, always loitering about instead of doing their housework. A pelike fragment in Malibu,¹²⁸ which seems at first unintelligible, shows a cat atop a stand and a man about to beat it with a sandal. It is only in the light of these previous vases that one understands its meaning: the cat has managed to climb up the stand and has scoffed all the meat.

Women Gossiping, Getting Drunk, and Sex-crazed

On a red-figure hydria in Madrid (fig. 24)¹²⁹ attributed to the Berlin Painter, two women are standing at a fountain house, which consists of a Doric column erected on a one-stepped

¹²² Munich, 2347.

¹²³ New York market; (BA 28056).

¹²⁴ Malibu, 86.AE.476.

¹²⁵ Alabastron, Attic RF, Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design 25.088; (BA 207244), ARV² 624.88, *Add* 132, *Add*³ 271; CVA, Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design 1, 29, pl. 22.3a-b. From Greece; Villa Giulia Painter; 460–440 BC.

¹²⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1423; (BA 8848); Koch 1992: 183, fig. 133. Chaire Painter; 490–470 BC. Courtesy of the museum, photographer Claire Niggli.

¹²⁷ See further, Chapter 2, 'Treatment of Foreigners'.

¹²⁸ Malibu, 86.AE.476.

¹²⁹ Hydria, Attic RF, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 11117; (BA 201985), ARV² 209.167, *Add* 97, *Add*³ 195; Olmos Romera, R. (1980) *Catálogo de los Vasos Griegos en el Museo Arq. Nacional*. Madrid:



Figure 24. *Male humour: two gossiping women at the fountain place have forgotten their overflowing hydria at the fountain.* Hydria, Attic RF, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 11117; Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC. Scanned drawing by J. D. Beazley, courtesy of the Beazley Archive.

krepsis with a lion's head spout shown in profile. From their gestures and their poses, they seem to be conversing. The woman on the left is drawn smaller than the other to fit into the composition because she is carrying a hydria on her head. The 'taller' woman has left hers beneath the fountain's spout. Both women wear a tiara, which indicates that they are neither slaves nor servants but most probably citizens. On the far right, a hydria is overflowing with water that is pouring out of the lion's-head spout.¹³⁰ On the Madrid hydria, the woman on the left is carrying her hydria vertically rather than on its side, which implies it is full and that she is about to leave. Her feet are pointing towards the left, away from the fountain place. Her head, however, is turned towards the other woman. With these simple elements (Olmos and Balmaseda 1977–8: 25), the

figs. 24–5; Mitchell 2004: fig. 10. Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC. Scanned drawing by J. D. Beazley, Courtesy of the Beazley Archive.

¹³⁰ Compare to the inscription on a pelike, Attic BF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 413; (BA 31764); Lissarrague 1992: 201–2, figs. 13–14. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; 530–520 BC: inscription next to an overflowing container: 'EDE MEN EDE PLEO<N> PARABEBAKEN': 'already it is full it is overflowing'.

overflowing hydria, the gestures of discussion, the indications of departure of the woman on the left, and her lingering (head turned right), the painter has shown two women gossiping (*lalein*, *phluareō*). Because they are lost in conversation, the woman on the right forgot her own hydria under the fountain head. A similar scene of gossiping ladies (they all wear *chitōns* and himatia and hair-gillets) is shown on a black-figure lekythos in Thebes.¹³¹ Four women are standing in a queue at a fountain. Three of them carry their hydriai horizontally on their heads. They hold them with one hand and make gestures of discussion with the other. The first woman looks round to chat with the one behind. She has misplaced her hydria below a lion's-head spout from which water streams half in the vase and half outside. This is a typical scene of situation comedy. Aristophanes would surely have agreed. In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (393),¹³² woman 'A' complains about Euripides who describes them as 'gossips' (*tas lalous*), but then, as Taaffee (1993: 90) writes, 'after this indictment of Euripides, she turns to a revelation of the truth about women... In short, her speech has revealed that Euripides actually tells the truth about women'.

These two vases are the only ones I am aware of, among the many representations of ordinary women filling their hydriai at fountain houses or at fountains (Diehl 1964: 131, 230–1; Manfrini-Aragno 1992: 127–48), in which women have let their hydria overflow or misplaced it. This detail is shown in a different context on a hydria in St. Petersburg,¹³³ also attributed to the Berlin Painter. Polyxene is at a fountain, whilst Achilles is crouching behind. Her hydria is overflowing. This detail probably indicates that she has just noticed him and, in her terror, has forgotten her hydria. There is also a bird standing on the fountain on another representation of Troilos and Polyxene.¹³⁴ Usually in the depictions of the flight of Polyxene, her hydria is spilled, as on a hydria fragment in Paris,¹³⁵ or broken, as on a hydria in London.¹³⁶ Yet, with the exception of the St. Petersburg vase, the hydria is never shown overflowing.

If getting water was a woman's job, some men probably would come to try their luck at the fountain. On a hydria in Brussels (fig. 25),¹³⁷ two respectable women fill their hydria, while another, having just filled hers and about to leave, is molested by a seated man. He grabs her left breast; she lifts her peplos with her right hand so as to escape

¹³¹ Lekythos, Attic BF, Thebes, Archaeological Museum, 6151; (BA 9606), ABL 108; CVA, Greece 6, Thebes, Archaeological Museum 1, pl. 62.3, 63.4. From Greece, Boeotia, Rhitsona; 510–490 BC.

¹³² See also *Ar. Lys.* 627.

¹³³ Hydria, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1588; (BA 201992), ARV² 210.174, *Add* 97, *Add* 195, *Para* 510; Schefold, K. and Jung, F. (1989) *Die Sagen von den Argonauten, von Theben und Troia in der Klassischen und Hellenistischen Kunst*. Munich: fig. 148. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC.

¹³⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, 97.7–21.2; (BA 300797), ABV 86.8, *Add* 26, *Para* 32; ABFH, fig. 55; CVA, London, British Museum 3, III.He.7, pl. 35.1a–b. Painter of London B76; 560–540 BC.

¹³⁵ Hydria fr., Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10651; (BA 12421); CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 11, III.H.E.112, pl. 134.1–4. 560–540 BC.

¹³⁶ Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1899.7–21.4; (BA 203082), ARV² 297.15, 296, 1643, *Add* 105, *Add* 211; CVA, London, British Museum 5, III.Ic.13, pl. 78.4. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Troilos Painter; 500–480 BC.

¹³⁷ Hydria, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R346; (BA 10964); CVA, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2, pl. 16.1. 530–520 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the museum.



Figure 25. *Man grabbing a woman's breast at the fountain place and about to be smacked*. Hydria, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R346; 530–520 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the museum.

his grasp, and is about to strike him with a piece of cloth held in her left hand. These images tell us more about the men who paint the vases than women. The fountain was the women's sphere where they met and socialised. Men rarely appear in those scenes, except to woo or literally grope women. This means that men do not know what is being said at the fountain, and because they cannot control what is said, they mock the women by debasing their conversation to sheer gossip or drivel, which is another form of control.

The other female stereotype, according to Aristophanes, is that women drink wine on the sly. A skyphos in Malibu (fig. 26)¹³⁸ shows a cellar containing two stacked-up chests, an oinochoe on top of the first, an amphora on the floor against the chest, a basket in the background, and a skyphos on top of a *kottabos* stand.¹³⁹ On the other side, a young slave girl (she has cropped hair and is loaded with domestic utensils) with a full wineskin on top of her head, a bag on her shoulder, and a hydria in her hand walks behind her mistress. This overweight woman hurriedly drinks wine out of a large skyphos. She is walking to the right and 'her large lips are glued to its lip to increase the flow of the liquid' (Oakley 2000: 240). Neither the woman's dress nor her hairstyle indicates that she could be a *hetaira*. On the contrary, her long and heavy dress and hairstyle are that of a 'respectable woman'. The two women must be carrying wine to a symposium. A symposium was not an event for a female citizen. The Malibu mistress cannot be present when

¹³⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.304; (BA 10146); CVA, Malibu 8, fig. 2, pls. 388, 5–6, 389. 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹³⁹ See D. Thompson 1971.



Figure 26. Woman gulping wine on the way from the storage room to the men's symposium. Skyphos, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.304; 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

guests are being entertained (*Lys.* 1. 23), as on a pyxis¹⁴⁰ and a chous in London,¹⁴¹ so she decides to drink on the sly, which can be inferred from her drinking while in motion. The painter is mocking a housewife: she is a fat glutton, as on a cup in New York¹⁴² where a woman is looking into an amphora to see if any wine is left.

This image of the housewife is not found in the usual literature referring to housewives but Aristophanes does make fun of drinking women: 'You are at hand when furtive wives unlock the storeroom door, or siphon off the wine' (*Assembly of Women* 14–15). In *Lysistrata*, ignorant of women's ritual oaths Lysistrata says: 'Let's set a great black

¹⁴⁰ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E769; (BA 204463), ARV² 410.63, Add² 115, Add³ 233; Keuls 1993: fig. 186. From Athens; Briseis Painter; 490–460 BC.

¹⁴¹ Chous, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1910.6–15.13; (BA 15462); Keuls 1993: fig. 187. 430–420 BC.

¹⁴² Cup, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.61; ARV² 50.192, 1622, Para 326, Add 79; Kilmer 1993: pl. at p. 146, R88. Class of Palmette-Eye Cups; 520–480 BC.



Figure 27. *Drunk old prostitute with sagging breasts and triple chin*. Lekythos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1922.10-18.1; Oinophile Painter; 510-480 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

cup here, hollow upwards: then for a lamb we'll slaughter a Thasian wine-jar, and firmly swear never to fill it with water' (195-7).

The Malibu drinker's thick lips find a parallel in a grotesque and naked female dwarf on a skyphos in Munich¹⁴³ about to drink from a skyphos. But on its other side, a winged phallos on top of which is set a *kanoun* (sacrificial basket) gives what Boardman (1992: 238) calls a 'hint of ritual'. If compared to a scene in the tondo of a cup in Rome¹⁴⁴ where two women sacrifice to a phallos shrine, the Munich dwarf tends to be a caricature and the scene itself a *mélange de genres*: the *kanoun* rocking atop the phallos recalls the Perseus Painter's pelike with a bird sitting on the perch-phallos of a herm.¹⁴⁵ The Munich scene could be a parody of the Leaina series where women drink, using ladles and smaller drinking vessels, from *stamnoi* depicted on *stamnoi*.¹⁴⁶

Another stout old female drinker is found on a lekythos in London (fig. 27).¹⁴⁷ An old woman with a wineskin in one hand and an oinochoe in the other walks towards a naked youth who holds a skyphos in one hand and a walking stick in the other. The old woman's hair is cropped as slaves'. Her translucent *chiton* reveals sagging breasts

¹⁴³ Skyphos, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8934; (BA 4691); Vierneisel 1990: 450, fig. 83.1a-b. 440-420 BC.

¹⁴⁴ Cup frg, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50413; (BA 9156); Mingazzini 1971: pl. 123.2, 4, no. 652.

¹⁴⁵ Pelike, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2172; (BA 206706), ARV² 581.4, Add 128, Add² 263; ARFH I, fig. 330. From Italy, Etruria; Perseus Painter; 490-460 BC.

¹⁴⁶ See Frontisi-Ducroux 1982.

¹⁴⁷ Lekythos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1922.10-18.1; (BA 305452), ARV² 332.1, 218.3, ABV 503, Add 108, Add² 217; Peschel 1987: pl. 148. From Sicily; Oinophile Painter; 510-480 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

and fat calves. Her face is caricatured to the extreme: her nose is curved, her eyebrows are underlined, and her double chin and neck wrinkles are signs of old age. She is an old and drunken *pornē*. She cannot be a *hetaira*. She is a caricature of beautiful *hetairai*, such as the ones depicted on a hydria in Munich (fig. 21).¹⁴⁸ They have slim bodies and chiselled facial features; they wear the *sakkos* and use traditional drinking vessels. The *hetairai* on the Munich hydria are considered by Robertson (1992: 27) to be humorous. He interprets this as a fantastical women-only symposium, an impossibility in fifth-century Athens. But this scene is only a snippet of reality, not reality itself. It is more likely that this vase shows two *hetaira* at a normal symposium. It is typical of painters to show a *pars pro toto* in vase-painting. It is amusing, however, to observe that the vase on which this old prostitute has been represented is a *lekythos*. Later, in the fifth century, old prostitutes were called *lēkuthos* (Ar. *Assembly* 1101), 'painted vase', because of the make-up they wore to cover their wrinkles (Henderson 1987, s.v. 'lekythos'). On a cup in Malibu,¹⁴⁹ a remarkably overweight and double-chinned naked *pornē* drinks from a small krater (of all possible vessels) while a kneeling youth masturbates in front of her. On the other side, a *pornē* with a triple chin and triple pot-belly masturbates another youth. On a *kalyx-krater* fragment in Munich,¹⁵⁰ a double-chinned *auletris*'s name is inscribed: 'SUKO'. In Greek, as in contemporary Italian slang, a 'fig' was a metaphor for a woman's genitalia.

The London *lekythos* and the Malibu cup were likely to be considered as humorous because the women's faces and bodies, on the one hand, and their drinking habits, on the other, are clearly caricatured. The services of these women were probably all that these youths could afford. The painter is mocking the young clients as much as the old women. The image of masturbation is unexpected too, except when satyrs are involved. Masturbating satyrs are often compared to slaves because neither can afford the services of a prostitute. Maybe the Munich scene of masturbation contains an extra joke: the youth cannot even afford an old prostitute! The 'objectification' of women is a more common trait in sexual scenes even when only two figures are depicted. On a cup in Boston,¹⁵¹ a man penetrates a woman from behind and tells her: *eche ēsuchos*; in other words, 'hold still!'

Erotic Thoughts, Dildoes, and some Flying Penises

According to Aristophanes, not only do women gossip and get drunk instead of working, but they are also shameless, lustful creatures. Even the Hippocratic Corpus offers advice on the duty of a man to 'fix' a woman's 'wandering womb' (Aret. *Med. Wr.* 2.11.1–3) to have as much sex as necessary so the woman stops suffering from hysteria. And the

¹⁴⁸ Munich, 2421.

¹⁴⁹ Malibu, 80.AE.31.

¹⁵⁰ Calyx-krater fr., Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8935; ARV² 1619.3bis, 1705, 1699, Add³ 152; Vierneisel 1990: figs. 9, 5, 29, 7, 35, 1a–c, 38, 4, 39. Euphronios; 520–505 BC.

¹⁵¹ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.233; (BA 205288), ARV² 444.241; ARFH I, fig. 297. Douris; 500–460 BC.

Philogelos has, of course, a number of misogynistic jokes, such as the one quoted earlier¹⁵² or the following one (244A): 'A young man asked his horny wife: 'What should we do, darling? Eat or have sex?' And she replied: 'You choose, but there isn't a crumb in the house'.

A number of vases show women with phalloi. On a krater in Berlin,¹⁵³ a woman is striding carrying a phallus the size of a battle-ram. The phallus has an eye painted on the gland, as all phallus-birds. Is this to mean that she is a *hetaira* who has serviced so many penises that the painter could only give it this gigantic size? Should it be compared to the tondo of a cup in Rome, which shows two women in a dancing ritual around a gigantic phallus?¹⁵⁴ It could also be a parody of the *Phallophoria* festival.¹⁵⁵ A modern comparison is found in the *mara* (phallus) carried through the streets of Nagoya in modern Japan during the annual *mara-Matsuri* festival every 15th March.¹⁵⁶ According to Watanabe (2001: 487), 'The pilgrims pray for their descendants in front of enormous wooden phalluses'. On a cup in Berlin,¹⁵⁷ two women standing back-to-back are making bread. Above them is a phallus-bird. In this scene, the phallus-bird has no agency in the scene as it does in other scenes, as for example on a cup in Boston (fig. 28)¹⁵⁸ where, on one side, a phallus-bird is ejaculating and, on the other, a satyr is bracing himself, bent forwards, hands on hips, waiting to be taken from the rear by a tiny phallus-bird; a similar scene is shown on a lekythos in Dion,¹⁵⁹ which shows a *pornē* on all fours waiting to be penetrated by a flying phallus-bird. On the Berlin cup,¹⁶⁰ it is not flying about; it has a frozen, almost heraldic air. Most probably it symbolises the women's sexual thoughts while they are at work.

One can pursue this interpretation with an amphora in Paris¹⁶¹ where a naked woman, possibly a *hetaira*, holds in one hand a small phallus-bird and with the other uncovers a huge basket filled with more phallus birds. Is this the painter's way of saying that she unleashes her desires? This is an odd scene to say the least, but it can get very humorous, as in a similar representation on a pelike in Syracuse (fig. 29):¹⁶² on one side, a young woman wearing a *sakkos* has just undressed and is about to wash her clothes or maybe wash herself. Her clothes and shoes are set on a stool and a cleaning sponge is hanging

¹⁵² See Chapter 1, 'A Few Principles Specifically Useful to this Study'.

¹⁵³ Column-krater, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3206 (BA 206285); ARV² 551.10, Add 126, Add² 257, Para 386; ARFH I, fig. 342. Italy, Etruria; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹⁵⁴ Rome, Villa Giulia, 50413.

¹⁵⁵ Cup, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3897; (BA 547); Steinhart 1995: pl. 35.2–3. 560–530 BC.

¹⁵⁶ Watanabe 2001: at p. 487.

¹⁵⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.21; Boardman 1992: no. 10. 500–490 BC.

¹⁵⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31C; (BA 383); Vermeule 1969: pl. 11.4–5. 490–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁵⁹ Lekythos, Attic RF, Dion, Archaeological Museum, 6941; *Eros Grec* (Athens/Paris 1989) 150–1; Boardman 1992: 227–42, no. 7. From Greece, Pydna; 470–450 BC.

¹⁶⁰ Berlin, 1966.21.

¹⁶¹ Amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 307; (BA 202706), ARV² 279.2 Add 103, Add² 208; CVA, France 15, Musée du Petit-Palais 1, pl. 12.2–3.6. From Italy, Capua; Flying-Angel Painter; 500–490 BC.

¹⁶² Pelike, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 20065; (BA 202175), ARV² 238.5, Add² 201, Para 349; CVA, Italia 17, Siracusa Museo Archeologico 1, pl. 7.1–2. From Sicily, Gela; Myson; 510–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 28. *Satyr bending over to be buggered by a baby phallus-bird.* Skyphos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 08.31c; 490–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 29. Visual pun. Side A: woman washing clothes. Side B: woman stepping into a basket full of dildos. Pelike, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 20065; Myson; 510–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

in the background. On the other side of the pelike, a woman has stepped into the container as if to have a bath. But the clay vase is now a wicker basket, and the water has given way to *olisboi* (dildoes) with eyes similar to those of the phallus-birds. The presence of the eye brings the dildoes to life. This must be a humorous way of showing the special sexual appetite of this woman who takes a phallic immersion rather than a bath. The humour in the scene is based on the surprise effect between the two sides of the vase, graphically almost identical but totally different in meaning. A fragmentary cup in Paris³⁶³ shows two *pornai* about to have sex with what seems to be a giant phallus bird. Finally, a pelike in London (fig. 30)³⁶⁴ shows a 'respectable woman' outdoors in a farm yard, distributing seeds to erect phalloi instead of chicken or ducks. It is a parody of an everyday-life activity.

4. TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS AND POLITICAL SATIRE

In the fifth century, democratic Athens defined itself through its struggle with what it considered to be the 'despotic' Persian Empire. When Athenians used ethnic stereotyping, it was both a reflection of this state of affairs, a sign of its eugenistic tendencies, and, to a lesser degree, a way of maintaining social cohesion. In many ways, foreigners are handy scapegoats for a society's ill fortunes. As far as mocking Persians was concerned, we are also here in the realm of 'the laughter of the enemies'. To laugh at enemies by making fun of their laziness or effeminacy may seem a little silly, but in a shame-culture, to lose face is to lose everything that gives meaning to one's life.

³⁶³ Cup fr., Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G14; (BA 200689), ARV² 85.1, 1578.15, Add 84, Add² 170, Para 330; CVA, France 17, Musée du Louvre 10, pl. 17.1–4.7, Pedieus Painter; 520–505 BC.

³⁶⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E819; (BA 215062), ARV² 1137.25, Add² 333, Para 454; ARFH II, fig. 213. From Italy, Nola; Hasselmann Painter; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 30. *Woman throwing grain to upright phalluses as if they were chicken.* Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E819; Hasselmann Painter; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

A Drunk Scythian

In the tondo of a cup in Basel (fig. 31),¹⁰⁸ a Scythian (he wears the Scythian felt cap and tight patterned clothes and a bow and arrow) with his eyes closed is asleep. The scene is divided by a thick line: above, the Scythian is sleeping, and below is a large rhyton.

¹⁰⁸ Basel, BS1423.



Figure 31. *Drunk Scythian asleep*. Cup, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1423; Chaire Painter; 490–470 BC. Courtesy of the museum, photograph © Claire Niggli.

It is almost like a rebus puzzle: a sleeping Scythian added to a drinking horn means 'he drank too much and fell asleep'. If this archer is generically an 'Oriental' or a 'Persian', the Greek painter is simply mocking the miserable warriors in the other camp who drink instead of training. But if we consider this archer's appearance *à la lettre*, he is dressed as a Scythian. The only Scythians who would have come into contact with Athenian painters on a daily basis were most likely 'Scythian archers',¹⁶⁶ members of the Athenian police force. According to Andocides (3.5), this police force was instituted around 446/5 BC. Hunter (1994: 145–9) argues it was instituted as early as the 470s. A common expression during symposia was 'to drink like a Scythian' from the verb *skuthizein* (Hieron. Rhod. *ap. Ath.* 499), to drink immoderately. As the Scythian is drunk and asleep, he is incapable of guarding anything. The drunken policeman is humorous because it is a

¹⁶⁶ On Scythian archers, see Vos 1963.



Figure 32. *My name is Eurymedon and I bend over*. Oinochoe, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1981.173; manner of Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

figure of power temporarily incapacitated. Poking fun at figures of authority is common to most cultures.

Eurymedon

In other depictions, oriental figures dressed like Scythians may be Scythians or images of the ‘other’: in a word, ‘foreigners’.¹⁶⁷ By drawing ‘Scythians’, some vase-painters intended, perhaps, to represent Persians. On an oinochoe in Hamburg (fig. 32)¹⁶⁸ first published by Schauenburg,¹⁶⁹ a much-debated painting shows, on one side, a young man wearing a cloak and striding to the right, holding his erect penis in his right hand, the other stretched out towards the figure standing on the other side. The second figure, shown in full face, has a bushy beard, wears tight oriental clothing, and carries a quiver. He is bending over and holds both hands, palms out, on each side of his face. His face is shown frontally because he is addressing the viewer. There is an inscription between the

¹⁶⁷ See M. C. Miller 1991 and Paspalas 2000.

¹⁶⁸ Oinochoe, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1981.173; (BA 1107); Schauenburg 1975: pl. 25.1–3. Manner of the Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁶⁹ See Schauenburg 1975; Deacy, S. and Pierce, K.E. (1997) *Rape in Antiquity*. Swansea: 136, fig. 10; Francis and Vickers 1990: fig. 12; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995: pl. 83; *JHS* 104 (1984), pl. 8c–d; *Jdai* 109 (1994) 37, figs. 34–5; Keuls 1993: 292, fig. 261; Kilmer 1993: pl. at p. 146, R1155; *Kunst der Antike, Schätze aus Norddeutschem Privatbesitz*, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Mainz, 1977) 317–18, no. 271; M. C. Miller 1997: pls. 1–2; Reinsberg 1989: 177, figs. 98a–b; A. C. Smith 1999; Wannagat 2001.

figures that Schauenburg (1975: 103) transcribes: *Eurumedon eim[i] kuba[de] esteka*; he also amends *kubade* to *kubda* (1975: 104), that is, 'I am Eurymedon, I stand bent over'. Dover (1978: 100–2) demonstrated from vase-painting and literary evidence that the passive sexual partner is the humiliated or lowly one. The woman is almost invariably in an inferior position, the man dominant. For Davidson (1997: 170), the Eurymedon oinochoe 'seems to demonstrate unequivocally a connection between penetration and power'. The passive partner is the 'loser', he is 'buggered'. And, for McNiven (2000: 88), this picture parodies the familiar depictions of erotic pursuit, and that:

unlike the noble gods and heroes in normal pursuit scenes, the Greek not only has an erection as he runs towards the Persian but he grasps his penis in his right hand like a weapon. Instead of running away like a woman or a boy in a pursuit scene, the bearded Barbarian presents his buttocks to the Greek, recalling a female prostitute (*hetaira*) in one of the more violent depictions of heterosexual intercourse.

One of the greatest battles won by the Greeks over the Persians was the naval battle fought at the mouth of river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. According to Thucydides (1. 100), it was a battle on land and sea, where Kimon, son of Miltiades, won on the same day two battles and destroyed two hundred Persian boats. The approximate date of the vase is the 480–460s and the battle was fought between 468 and 465 BC (M. C. Miller 1997: 9–13). This is no coincidence, and most scholars interpret the vase's meaning as 'We've buggered the Persians' (Davidson 1997: 171). It is generally agreed that in the 430–420s the Persian world is often depicted and sculpted as a culture of marvel and delight, unlike the situation in the 460s following the Persian Wars. The Eurymedon vase is thus generally understood as a new way to depict the humiliation of the Persians. Of course, there were other characters named Eurymedon in literature and in history, but the facts as they stand are insufficient to shake off the political interpretation.

The key to understanding the vase lies in linguistics and iconography. The adjective *eurus*, 'large', 'open', is common in Aristophanes. He uses it as a prefix in words like *euruprōktos* (*Clouds* 1084–99 (six times), *Knights* 719): 'gape-arse', that is, 'debauched' (Henderson 1975: 77, 195, 210, 211, 213–14, 218); *euruprōktos* is a common abusive term in comedy. The usual term to refer to Persians is *Mēdos*; jokes in Greek were mainly puns. Of course, the Persian on the vase should have said *-mēdos* and not *-mēdon*. We could argue that a spelling error was made by the painter, but this could also be a typical play on words: 'the wide (arse) Persian'.

The gesture of the Persian needs to be explained a little further. Davidson says, for instance, 'as if he was surrendering' (1997: 170), and McNiven compares Eurymedon's gesture to Eurystheus's in the pithos scenes to a gesture of surprise and fear. Eurystheus's gesture is actually one of supplication as he has been forewarned of Herakles' arrival, which is why he is already in a pithos when Herakles comes up to him. A gesture of supplication would fit perfectly here! There probably is an element of surprise: on a pelike in Paris,¹⁷⁰ a satyr, whose face is shown full-frontal, is bent over a krater. His right hand,

¹⁷⁰ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G227; (BA 202563), ARV² 283.2, Add² 208; CVA, France 9, Musée du Louvre 6, pl. 45.1. Painter of Louvre G238; 490–470 BC. See also calyx-krater, Attic RF,

palm turned to the viewer, is held slightly above his head in a gesture of surprise and probably delight.¹⁷¹ One of the keys to the Eurymedon vase is *surprise*. The reason the painter did not show the 'triumphant act' and kept both figures apart is to surprise the viewer, as he would have been by the inscription. The pun on *eurus* and *Mēdos* adds to the joke.

Some scholars may wonder what such a scene is doing on a wine-jug, or, if this is a scene of triumph, why the painter did not show the act of penetration. The vase may have been inspired by the famous battle, which was in everyone's recent memory, but it is less a representation of political 'triumph and humiliation' than a dirty joke, pure and simple, played at the expense of the 'effeminate Persians'. In view of the many other comic depictions shown and discussed in this book, is it really so surprising to find such a joke on a wine-jug?

5. REPREHENSIBLE SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Humour has often veiled didactic intentions: by mocking a certain trait, whether it is extreme drunkenness or gluttony, the hidden aim may be to straighten the crooked and ensure that everyone abides by social conventions. There is a place for drunkards in the *Philogelos*. As in many other jokes in that book, it is mixed with a misogynistic element (*Philogelos* 227A): 'While a drunkard was imbibing in a tavern, someone approached and told him: 'Your wife is dead.' Taking this in, he said to the bartender: 'Time, sir, to mix a drink up from your dark stuff'. There may be an added level to this joke, as the dark colour of the wine is also a sign of mourning.

Drinking ... In Excess

The following paragraphs will not consider at length drinking in the context of the symposium, as it has already been researched extensively.¹⁷² The focus here is rather on the state of drunkenness, its comical function as an image, and how different aspects of drunkenness are depicted in vase-painting. 'When speaking about wine, the Greeks were inexhaustible. Drinkers' dialogues, experts' discussions, lyric poems, and mythological tales – the literature dealing with the divine beverage is extensive' (Lissarrague 1990a: 3). Anyone who has experienced drunkenness knows different levels are distinguishable. If the 'merry stage' is exceeded, it may be followed by drooling, heaving, and eventually

Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS480; (BA 1287); Hölscher 1974: 78; CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 25, pls. 8.3–4, 9.3–4. 460–440 BC. And column-krater, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H3369; (BA 205886), ARV² 523.9; LIMCV, pl. 207, s.v. 'Hermes' 100. The Orchard Painter; 470–460 BC.

¹⁷¹ Rhyton, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum; (BA 204084), ARV² 382.185, *Add* 13, *Add* 228, *Para* 366; ARFH I, fig. 257. Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC.

¹⁷² Vickers 1978; Dentzer 1982; Kunisch, Parakenings, and Peifer 1989; Murray 1990; Vienneis 1990; Lissarrague 1990a; Slater 1991; Schmitt-Pantel 1992; and Schäfer 1997.

sleep. 'Let's not fall into riot and disorder with our wine, like the Scythians, but let us drink in moderation listening to the lovely hymns' (Anac. *ap. Ath.* 10.427a-b). Vase-painters often depict the 'merry stage'. In some cases, however, they show the last stages, which are neither graceful nor poetic. Were these depictions comical because of the way in which they were represented or simply in themselves?

The Greeks are not solitary drinkers; the consumption of wine is seen as a communal act. The symposium is organized as a community, with its own rules intended to establish a setting of shared pleasure* (Lissarrague 1990a: 19). When drinking gets out of hand, it becomes an individual pleasure – a vice? A cup in Berlin¹⁷³ shows men dancing and drinking. Under one of the handles, a reveller is crouching, trying to pull the stopper out of an amphora, which probably contains unmixed wine. No krater is shown next to him; he is trying slyly to drink alone from a full amphora. It is an exclusive pleasure. On a cup in London,¹⁷⁴ a glutton looks into an amphora to check if there is any wine left. In the tondo of a cup from the Basel market,¹⁷⁵ a youth rushes head first into a column-krater. There is no sharing here to say the least. Jumping into a krater is a comical exaggerated behaviour. This motif is also used in another context when Eurystheus jumps into his pithos, as will we see further.¹⁷⁶

In contrast, the youth in the Basel tondo¹⁷⁷ uses neither ladle nor oinochoe nor cup, which is the proper way to drink, an example of which is shown on a skyphos in Oxford (fig. 33).¹⁷⁸ He is shown standing at the source of wine, the krater. He behaves exactly like a satyr in the realm of the anti-Polis. He is uncivilised and individualistic. It is a common comical motif when satyrs are involved. A series of cups and lekythoi show satyrs jumping into kraters and pithoi.¹⁷⁹ A satyr in the tondo of a cup in Geneva (fig. 34)¹⁸⁰

¹⁷³ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2309; (BA 203944), ARV² 373.46, 1649, 1701, Add 112, Add² 233, Para 366, 372.11bis; CVA, Deutschland 21, Berlin 2, pl. 70. 1. From Italy, Capua; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC.

¹⁷⁴ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E27; (BA 200852), ARV² 98.14. Euergides Painter; 515–500 BC.

¹⁷⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Basel market, Munzen und Medaillen, A.G.; (BA 201392), ARV² 152.6. Epeleios Painter; 520–500 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Basel market; *Kunstwerke der Antike: Munzen und Medaillen*, A.G. 16 (Basel, 30.6.1956) pl. 28, no. 119.

¹⁷⁶ The motif should not be confused with scenes of wine pressing during harvest-time, as on another cup of the Basel market where a youth, treading grapes with his feet in a large vessel, maintains himself upright by holding onto two handles placed above his head: cup fr., Attic RF, Basel, Private Collection, H. Cahn, HC160; (BA 352390), Para 317; *Kunstwerke der Antike: Munzen und Medaillen*, A.G. (Basel, 1969) 40. 510–490 BC.

¹⁷⁷ Basel market (Epeleios P.).

¹⁷⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 520; (BA 200611), ARV² 76.84, Add 83, Add² 168, Para 328; Vickers 1999: 28, no. 17. Epiktetos; 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁷⁹ Lekythos, Attic RF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B1814; (BA 207944), ARV² 677.13; CVA, Deutschland 7, Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum 11: pl. 26. 4. From Greece, Athens; CL Class; 470–450 BC. And cup fr., Attic RF, Kiel, Kunsthalle, Antikensammlung, B541; (BA 30086); CVA, Deutschland 55, Kiel, Kunsthalle, Antikensammlung 1, pl. 52.3. Pithos Painter; 510–500 BC. See cup fr., Attic RF, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, 28623; (BA 5029); Alfieri, N. (1979) *Spina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara*, I. Bologna: fig. 16; Brön 1992: 71, fig. 39. From Italy, Spina; Pithos Painter; 510–500 BC. And cup fr., Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1930; (BA 201145), ARV² 137.4, Add 88, Add² 178; CVA, Austria 1, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, pl. 2.3. Aktorione Painter; 510–500 BC.

¹⁸⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 16908; (BA 11019), Add 88, Add² 178; Lissarrague 1990a: fig. 75; CVA, Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 1, pl. 9.2.6. 510–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 33. *The proper way to drink wine.* Skyphos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 520; Epiktetos; 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 34. *Satyr has jumped head first in a wine krater.* Cup, Attic RF, Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, 16908; 510–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 35. *Drunkard pulling a cart with another drunk on top through the streets of Athens.* Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 17286; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

has already dived head first into a krater. Only his legs, tail, and genitals are visible. He is virtually standing upside-down in the krater. The attitude is grotesque and reveals the immense gluttony of satyrs. The presence of a cup in the foreground shows both what the satyr ought to use to drink and identifies the krater as a wine-krater.

The *kōmos*, which usually takes place outdoors (Bron 1988: 71–9), defines the movement of a group with music, dancing, and wine. This is shown on numerous vases, but only a few show an exaggerated version of this theme. On a chous in Athens (fig. 35),¹⁸¹ a young man holds high his oinochoe, while with his other hand he pulls a wooden cart on which is seated a youth, carrying an oinochoe on his back. The seated youth is in an unstable position. His feet are too long to fit in the cart and in his drunkenness he raises his arms high. ‘He is balancing rather than sitting’ (Karouzou 1946: 124). On their way,

¹⁸¹ Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 17286; (BA 11082); van Hoorn 1951: cat. 115, fig. 35. 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

they pass a column surmounted by a palmette, as on a chous in Paris.¹⁸² They are in town, probably making great noise with the cart and their own shouting. A fragmentary chous in Boston¹⁸³ shows another *kōmos* with a staggering drunk man, a flute-girl lighting the way with a torch, and a boy carrying a big ivy-wreathed chous and lyre for his master. These vivid depictions of merry men are comparable to the comic scene on a chous in New York (fig. 20)¹⁸⁴ of a drunken husband hammering at a door with his staff so as to be let in by his wife. The choes' representations are often amusing but are not necessarily connected to the *Anthesteria*. Only the miniature choes (less than 15 cm in height) were probably produced for this festival and painted with characteristic children and pets in joyful attitudes, probably because that was what people wished to buy and offer at such festive occasions.¹⁸⁵

If the penultimate stage of drunkenness is reached, the drinker becomes intoxicated and must heave to relieve himself. Wine is a *pharmakon* in the true sense of the word: it is a 'remedy' and enjoyable only when taken in reasonable quantities, but a 'poison' if taken in excess. According to Schäfer (1997: 56–7), from the 530–520s to the 480–470s ordinary symposia had supplanted the 'decent' previously aristocratic symposia. This could explain the sudden rash of vomiting,¹⁸⁶ defecating,¹⁸⁷ and urinating scenes now appearing in vase-painting. On a cup in Brussels (fig. 36),¹⁸⁸ a youth is urinating and probably defecating too. He is shown in full facial view. The comedy of the scene is enhanced by the traditional inscription: 'HO PAIS KALOS', 'the beautiful youth', which is here ironical.¹⁸⁹ Schäfer explains, by comparing the exaggeration motif in both comedy

¹⁸² Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MNB1759; (BA 212479), ARV² 858.8, 1608, Add² 146, Add³ 298; van Hoorn 1951: cat. 828, fig. 11. From Greece, Athens; Trophy Painter; 460–450 BC.

¹⁸³ Chous fr., Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.190; (BA 220531), ARV² 1318.2; van Hoorn 1951: cat. 385, fig. 85. Group of Boston 10.190; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 171.4. 440–420 BC.

¹⁸⁴ New York, 37.11.19.

¹⁸⁵ See Hamilton 1992.

¹⁸⁶ Berlin, F2309. Cup, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 3880; (BA 203934), ARV² 373.36, 1649, Add² 112, Add³ 225, Para 366, 372.11ter; CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 3, pls. 141.1a–d, 142.1a–f. From Italy; Near the Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 70.395; (BA 4704), Add² 393; CVA, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 3, pls. 30.1–4, 31.1–2, 32.1–6; Schäfer 1997: pl. 28.1. Douris; 500–460 BC. And see cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16561; (BA 205046), ARV² 427.2, Add² 116, Add³ 235, Para 374; Schäfer 1997: pl. 31.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Douris; 500–460 BC. Also cup, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS463; (BA 201304), ARV² 147.16, Add² 89, Add³ 179; CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 2, pls. 7.4, 8.1–3, 33.3.7, 38.9; Lissarrague 1990a: fig. 52. Epeleios Painter; 520–500 BC. And cup, Attic RF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum antikenabteilung, L479; (BA 203930), ARV² 372.32, 398, 1649, Add² 111, Add³ 225, Para 366, 367; Pfuhl 1924: pl. 139, no. 421. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. Also cup, Attic RF, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; (BA 204353), ARV² 402.12, 1651, Add² 114, Add³ 231, Para 370; Schäfer 1997: pl. 15. 1; Kurtz, D. C. (ed.) (1989) *Greek Vases, Lectures by J. D. Beazley*. Oxford: pls. 54–5. Foundry Painter; 480–470 BC. And pelike, Attic RF, Moretti (Swiss Private); (BA 201679); ARV² 184.26. Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.

¹⁸⁷ Würzburg, L479.

¹⁸⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R259; (BA 201545), ARV² 169.7, Add² 91, Add³ 183; CVA, Belgique 2, Bruxelles 2, pl. 20. 4. Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁸⁹ On kalos names, see Talcott, L. (1936) "Vases and Kalos-names from an Agora Well". *Hesperia* 5: 333–54; Robinson and Fluck 1937; Immerwahr, H. R. (1982) "A Lekythos in Toronto and the Golden Youth of Athens". *Hesperia Supplements*, vol. 19, Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography. Presented to Eugene Vanderpool 59–65; Cook, R. M. (1989) *JHS* 164–70.



Figure 36. *Youth shitting and pissing*. Inscription: 'Oh the beautiful youth'. Cup, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R259; Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

and vase-painting, that this mechanism aroused laughter. It is an outlet for everyday-life's seriousness. He also considers this phenomenon takes part in a broader context, *Lachkultur*, 'a culture of laughter'. Symposia were institutionalised moments of pleasure. The final stage of drunkenness is sleep, as is shown on a cup in Basel (fig. 31).¹⁹⁰ As discussed earlier, this sleeping Scythian 'drank too much and fell asleep'.

Gluttons

Gluttony was commonly mocked. Among the many jokes found in the *Philogelos*, here is one on the subject (219 – transl. Baldwin): 'A glutton betrothed his daughter to another

¹⁹⁰ Basel, BS1423.



Figure 37. *Two dwarfs scoffing food*. Pelike, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal, 37.1031; Painter of Munich 2358; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

glutton. Asked what he was giving her as a dowry, he replied: 'A house whose windows face the bakery.' It is alien to *sōphrosunē*, 'ethical and moral correctness'. There was also a harmony in sustenance (Hp. *Vict.* 1.2; Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 2.9.13). Xenophon writes: 'Thus, over-eating (*upersthionta*) followed by over-exertion he disapproved' (*Mem.* 1.2.4). When two dwarves are shown scoffing on a pelike in Laon attributed to the Washing Painter (fig. 37),¹⁹² one can wonder what is funnier to the Greek viewer: the misfit dwarf or the exaggerated gobbler? Two dwarf-like characters wearing headbands of *komasts* serve themselves with food from a large vessel set on the ground. Standing on each side of the vessel, they are closer to its edge than normal-sized men would be. The one on the right uses one hand to gobble up the rations (grape or possibly porridge)

¹⁹² Pelike, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal, 37.1031; (BA 215138), ARV² 1142.2; CVA, Laon, Musée Archéologique Principal 1, III, I, 25, pl. 33.6. Painter of Munich 2358; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

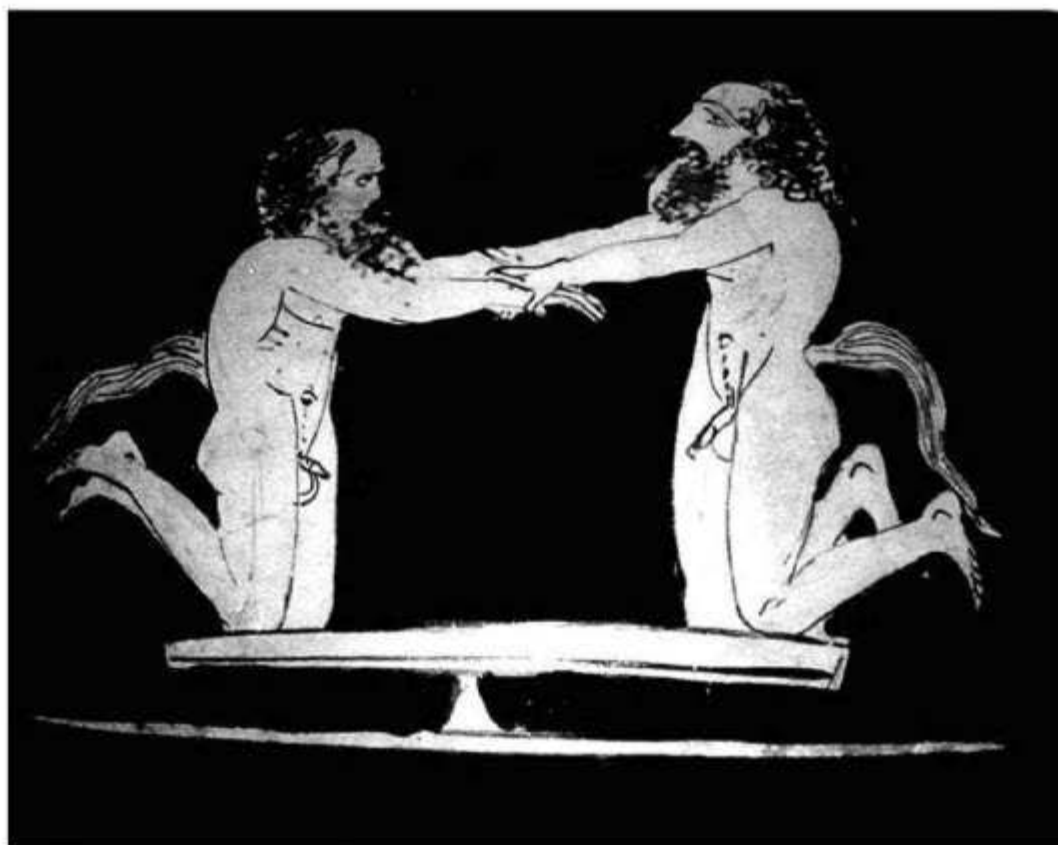


Figure 38. *Two satyrs playing merry-go-round on a potter's wheel*. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E387; manner of Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

and the other to prepare his next helping. A few details increase the comedy of the situation. The puffed-up cheeks of the little man indicate his voracity, and the immobility of the dwarf on the left seems to show his bewildered surprise at the sight of the other's gluttony. The exaggeration of gluttony makes the scene amusing. These characters are *gastridouloi*, 'slaves of the stomach'. They are not only foreign to the Greek ideal of beauty in their physical disability but also in their behaviour. They resemble Trygaios in Aristophanes (*Peace* 32–6): 'Go on, gobble away! Don't ever stop eating, not till you surprise yourself by bursting away! The way that devil eats! Crouching like a wrestler, moving its grinders back and forth, and all the while going like this, swivelling its head and hands'.

Another vase-painting attributed to the same artist shows two satyrs using a potter's wheel on a pelike in London (fig. 38)¹⁹² as a merry-go-round. This painter certainly

¹⁹² Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E387; (BA 215020), ARV² 1134.10, Add² 333; Deubner 1930: 166, fig. 11. From Italy, Nola; Manner of Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

possessed a sense of humour. A chous in Athens¹⁹¹ shows a young *komast* trying to tear an oinochoe from the grasp of an old and bald dwarf who desperately hangs onto it. The youth is about to strike the dwarf. His posture is similar to a youth about to strike a boar (an infernal hound?), which is gnawing the youth's himation on a chous in Tarquinia.¹⁹² This is no coincidental resemblance in attitude. The first scene is a parody in a heroic-comic style of the second. A dwarf-like figure is shown once again as a glutton.

¹⁹¹ Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 14528; (BA 2536); van Hoorn 1951: cat. 102, fig. 26. From Greece, Athens; 440–420 BC.

¹⁹² Chous, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC7461; (BA 15903); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 27, no. 949. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; 440–420 BC.



Humour in the City

Gods, Heroes, and Myth

1. HEROES RIDICULED

Painters enjoyed mocking heroes. Heroes have grandeur, and are stronger, far more courageous, noble, and beautiful than common men. They are looked up to as models of virtue and often have their own cult in the form of *heroa*. However much heroes were revered, the democratic atmosphere of Athens tended to bring everyone to the same level. Maybe this was a consequence of their fear of *hybris*, or maybe this was brought about by a more healthy need for balance within the city following the old precept of the golden mean, the 'nothing too much' (*meden agan*). Maybe it was the sheer pleasure of a socially lowly artisan in bringing down a superior being, be he superior politically, in wealth, in nobility, or virtue.

Peleus

'No city is so barbarous or so strange in its speech that it does not know the fame of the hero Peleus' writes Pindar (*Isth. Od.* 6.25). Not only was he the celebrated father of the great Achilles, but he was a famed hero in his own right, a great one among the first generation of heroes. While a guest at Iolcus in Thessaly, the king's wife fell in love with him. He refused her advances, and, as in many other similar stories, Astydamia told her husband Acastus that Peleus had tried to seduce her. He decided to take Peleus on a hunt on Mount Pelion. During the night, he hid Peleus's sword and abandoned the hero fast asleep. According to the textual tradition, Peleus was about to be massacred by the vicious beasts roaming the Thessalian wilderness or even by the wild Centaurs. But Chiron, the wisest of Centaurs, brought the hero his sword and thus saved him from certain death.

The texts do not report how Peleus behaved after waking up and before Chiron came to his rescue, but two vases show this clearly.¹ On a white-ground oinochoe in New

¹ See Wolters 1915 and Milne 1946-7.

York,² Peleus is hiding up a large tree for fear of the wild boar and lions circling the tree. Although this is probably the only sensible thing to do, on a heroic scale of behaviour, Peleus is a coward! He is shown in a very different light from his usual depiction as a fearless hero, killing wild beasts and taming a fearsome goddess. On one side of a black-figure amphora in Rome,³ the terrified hero has comically taken refuge up a tree, while on the other side, Chiron the centaur is on his way to save him. The only 'wild beasts' in the picture are two gentle hinds unaware of the hero above them up a tree.⁴

Judgement of Paris

The *Judgement of Paris* is at the origin of the Trojan War. Had Paris refused to judge which of Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite was the most beautiful, he would not have chosen Aphrodite and would not have seduced – with the goddess's help – the mesmerising Helen. Many black-figure depictions of the *Judgement of Paris* are amusing in themselves, as most of them illustrate Paris fleeing, with Hermes pursuing him to bring him back to the three goddesses in order to carry out his judgement. For instance, a neck-amphora fragment in Copenhagen (fig. 39)⁵ shows Paris fleeing from both Hermes and the three goddesses, Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. The image is burlesque, but one cannot help feeling sympathy for Paris. To make a choice in favour of one goddess at a beauty contest in the face of the other disappointed deities is plainly lethal. Paris knows that the goddesses he does not choose will make his life an utter misery. After all, Zeus was supposed to pronounce the judgement in the first place but, terrified of his own wife, sent Hermes

² New York, 46.11.7.

³ Rome, Villa Giulia, 24247.

⁴ For more heroic cowards, see Herakles running away before the infernal dog Kerberos (hydria fr., Attic BF, Münster, Museum der Universität, 726; (BA 5518); *Boreas* 1 (1978) pl. 30.4). See Athena and Hermes encouraging Herakles to go after Kerberos (lekythos, Attic BF, San Antonio, Art Museum 91.80.1; (BA 44051); Shapiro, H. A. et al. (eds.), (1995) *Greek Vases in the San Antonio Museum of Art*, 1995: no. 63. Gela Painter; 520–500 BC). Herakles subduing gently Kerberos (Amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F204; (BA 200011), ARV² 4.11, ABV 254, 1617, Add² 65, 150 *Para* 113, 321; Schefold, K. (1978) *Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der Spätarchaischen Kunst*, Munich: fig. 152. Etruria, Vulci; Andokides Painter; 530–520 BC). Compare to the forceful Herakles entering the Nemean lion's cave (cup, Attic RF, London market (Christie's; Kusunacht Hirschmann); ARV² 1291.2, *Para* 474). Herakles and Kerberos (hydria, Attic BF, Capesthorpe Hall, Bromley-Davenport; (BA 202284), ARV² 232.3, ABV 390.4; *JHS* (78) pl. 9. Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC). A parody of the Kerberos theme: Herakles keeping a female Kerberos on a chain (oinochoe, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.924; (BA 330768) ABV 524.1, ABL 260.129 Add² 131; ABFH, fig. 253. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC). Herakles running away from Kerberos (hydria, Attic BF, Abingdon, C. M. Robertson). Youth running away from a two-headed snake in a tree (lekythos, Attic BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12821; (BA 370005), ABV 505; Add² 126, ABL, pl. 18.5. From Greece, Euboea, Eretria; Cactus Painter; 530–520 BC).

⁵ Neck-amphora fr., Attic BF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 13440; (BA 300802), ABV 86.13, *Para* 32; LIMC VIII, pl. 106, s.v. 'Paridis iudicium'; CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, pl. 315.1a–c. Painter of London B76; 560–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also pyxis, Attic BF, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 763; (BA 306515), ABV 681.122bis, Add² 16; CVA, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Université Charles de Gaulle, pls. 5–7; Schefold, K. (1993) *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der Früh- und Hocharchaischen Kunst*, Munich: fig. 364. C Painter; 575–550 BC. And see Tripod Kothon, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA616; (BA 300499) ABV 58.122, *Para* 23, Add² 16; ABFH, fig. 38. From Greece, Boeotia, Thebes; C. Painter; 575–550 BC.



Figure 39. *Hermes running after Paris, terrified at the prospect of carrying out his famous judgement.* Neck-amphora fr., Attic BF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 13440; Painter of London B76; 560–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

to bring Paris to Mount Ida to be the judge. When one considers the dire consequences of his choice (the abduction of Helen, the Trojan War, and the horrific sacking of Troy), one can well understand why he is running away. A pyxis lid in Athens,⁶ on which a winged phallos seen from above with outstretched wings sits between three vulvae, could be a parody of the *Judgement of Paris* (Boardman 1992: 232), and the theme was so pleasurable to viewers that Boeotian parodied it even further as we will see further (fig. 140).⁷

Diomedes

Diomedes, son of Tydeus, was a great Aetolian hero who participated in the Trojan War. In the *Iliad* (5.111–113), he asks Sthenelos the healer, son of Kapaneus, to draw an arrow

⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2510; (BA 43665); Vorberg 1965: 131; Boardman 1992: fig. 5. 440–420 BC.

⁷ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.533; KH4.65.366=KH 1.109M18, pl. 37.2–3. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, Private collection, B. Swannenburg; KH4.67.401. 450–375 BC.



Figure 40. *The great hero Diomedes having his finger bandaged instead of an arrow pulled out of his shoulder. Chalcidian amphora, Pembroke and Hope (Once); 550–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell, after Rumpf 1927: pl. 12.*

from his shoulder and tend to the wound. Visual representations of wounds being bandaged are quite unusual. In the tondo of a cup in Berlin,⁸ Achilles is tending Patroklos's wounds. There is a similar scene in a clinic where a doctor is tending a wound.⁹ Yet, on a Chalcidian black-figure amphora (fig. 40),¹⁰ the great hero Diomedes is having his forefinger tended by Sthenelos. Both names are inscribed. There is no mention in the

⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2278; (BA 200108), ARV² 21.1, 1620, Add 74, Para 323, Add¹ 154; Carpenter 1991: fig. 301; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 2, pls. 49.1–2, 50.1–4, 51.1–4, 62.3; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 123. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Berlin Painter (Sosias Potter by signature); 500–480 BC.

⁹ Aryballos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2183; (BA 210078), ARV² 808, 813.96, Para 420, Add 143, Add¹ 291; ARFH I, fig. 377; Dasen 1993: pl. 44a–d. Clinic Painter; 470–460 BC. (C) RMN/© Hervé Lewandowski.

¹⁰ Chalcidian amphora, Pembroke and Hope (Once); Rumpf 1927: pl. 12, 550–540 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Iliad of the fierce Aetolian hero having his forefinger bandaged! On the contrary, in the *Iliad* (11.397–8), Diomedes pulls out proudly an arrow from his foot and leaps onto his chariot even though he is in terrible pain. The Chalcidian representation may be a visual counterpart to an unknown oral/written version, but it is much more likely to be a good example of burlesque humour, where the fearsome Diomedes is debased to the level of the common man who believes in self-preservation and does not act according to his heroic nature.

Ilioupersis

The *Ilioupersis* or ‘sack of Troy’ is a well-established subject in vase-paintings.¹¹ Before discussing a parody of the *Ilioupersis* on a cup in Boston, let us examine the traditional themes of the sack of Troy on a hydria in Naples (fig. 41).¹² From left to right, Aeneas rescues Anchises and Ascanius; the Lesser Ajax with drawn sword holds Cassandra’s head ready to drag her from the Palladion; she is naked but for a cloak knotted at her neck. Nearby, two seated Trojan women weep, each holding her head in her hands. Then comes the horrific death of King Priam (Wiencke 1954: 285), and a kneeling warrior fighting a woman wielding a pestle. Finally, the old Aithra, Theseus’s mother, is rescued by her grandsons Demophon and Akamas.

An exceptional parody of the myth is shown on a cup in Boston (fig. 42).¹³ From left to right, two women with long hair are threatened by a warrior. The first is seated and holds her head with one hand while imploring the warrior with the other. The second, a snake atop her head, stands facing the warrior. Behind the woman is Apollo’s tripod, as on a cup in Paris.¹⁴ This scene of Cassandra’s rape by Ajax is not the usual one represented on vases,¹⁵ but neither is Ajax’s left buttock exposed in traditional imagery. An old woman leaning on her cane walks to the right. Her hair is cut short as in the fashion of slaves’. She has a double chin, her nose is crooked, and her cheeks are wrinkled. With her other hand she has grabbed the *chiton* of the warrior in front of her. She could be Aithra, Theseus’s mother. She is usually rescued, as on the Naples hydria (fig. 41),¹⁶ but here she seems to want to rescue a young woman attacked by the warrior in front of her. Her

¹¹ See, for instance, Moret 1975, Anderson 1997, and Hedreen 2002.

¹² Hydria, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2422; (BA 201724), ARV² 189.74, 1632, *Add* 94, *Add*³ 189, *Para* 341; Boardman, J. (1976) ‘The Kleophrades Painter at Troy’. *AntK* 19: 3–19, fig. 3; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 34. From Italy, Nola; Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.

¹³ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Res.08.30.a; (BA 201129), ARV² 135, 1628, 1700, *Add* 88, *Add*³ 177; Vermeule 1969: pl. 10.1–3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. Photograph © 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G152; (BA 203900), ARV² 369.1, *Add* 116, *Add*³ 224, *Para* 365; LIMC VIII, pl. 401, s.v. ‘Ilioupersis’ 8; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 25. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Brygos Painter (Brygos Potter by signature); 480–470 BC.

¹⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.362; (BA 13363), *Add* 404; Stewart, A. (1995) ‘Vergewaltigung?’. *Pandora, Frauen im Klassischen Griechenland*. Mainz 82, fig. 8. Onesimos (Euphronios Potter by signature); 505–480 BC.

¹⁶ Naples, H2422.



Figure 41. *The sack of Troy*. Hydria, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2422; Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC. Scanned drawing after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 34.



Figure 42. *Parody of the sack of Troy scenes*. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Res.08.30.a; Wider Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. Photograph © 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 43. *Menelaus falling for Helen, again*. Oinochoe, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16535; Heimarmene Painter; 440–420 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: III, 307, fig. 147, pl. 170.3.

caricatured face is in contradiction with the noble beauty of epic imagery. On the hydria in Naples, her white hair and her attitude convey the demeanour of a respectable elderly lady saved by her grandson. On the cup in Boston, she resembles more a ‘Madame’ trying to calm down an overexcited client in her brothel than Aithra or Priam’s venerable wife. The warrior, in the traditional attitude of Menelaus who is about to kill his untrustworthy wife Helen, falls again in love with her as soon as he approaches her (fig. 43).¹⁷ On the Boston cup, Helen is crouching behind an altar and under Athena’s shield to her right. Instead of begging her husband for forgiveness and holding onto Athena’s statue as would be expected, she is uncovering her breasts with her right hand while calmly making a sign to the warrior as if entreating him to come closer. Her hair is cropped like that of a common *pornē*, which is most incongruous in an epic scene.

Athena is shown *promachos* and without a base. Although Athena was shown *promachos* in earlier black-figure, at the time this picture was painted the usual depiction of the Palladion is as an old archaic statue with or without a base. Here, the goddess is present. She shares the same nonsense shield device as Menelaus: three circles with a dot at their centre in a larger outer rim. This type of shield device is often carried by satyrs or men fleeing, and often on vases attributed to the Triptolemos Painter.¹⁸

¹⁷ Oinochoe, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16535; (BA 215554), ARV² 1173.3, Add² 339, Para 460; ARFH II, fig. 309; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: III, 307, fig. 147, pl. 170.3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Heimarmene Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T513; (BA 203835), ARV² 364.43; CVA, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität 3, pl. 35.1–8; Pfisterer-Haas, S. (1998) *Wenn der Topf aber nun ein Loch*

Neither Helen nor Cassandra are clasping their hands around Athena as would have been expected. Moreover, the deity seems somehow to be out of place; her presence was probably needed by the painter to remind the viewer that this was the sack of Troy. A young man is running towards Athena as if he sought her protection. He is looking back towards his pursuer. This youth, as well as Athena *promachos* and Helen/Cassandra crouching below Athena's shield,¹⁹ are already found in black-figure depictions of the scene.²⁰ However, the youth is usually shown running away from Athena not towards her as in this scene. Because of the parodic context, the pursuer might well be an *erastes* chasing his *eromenos*, as is shown on many a vase. The painter, in his parody, gives just enough details to recognise the *Ilioupersis* and to recall its usual depiction. The parody of the *Ilioupersis* is set on different levels but all use the unexpected and debase the characters from the heroic to the common place, from tragedy to comedy: the youth bumping into Athena and in need of protection; Aithra transformed into a 'Madame' holding onto Menelaus's *chiton*; the substitution of a low-class prostitute for the beautiful Helen; Helen hiding behind an altar instead of grasping Athena's statue, showing

bat, Restaurierung Griechischer Keramik in Antike und Neuzeit. Leipzig: figs. 1.6a–d. From Italy, Orvieto; Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland, 1887.213; (BA 203838), ARV² 364.46, *Para* 364, *Add* 110; ARFH I, fig. 303. From Italy; Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC. And Attic RF, New York Market, Christies (ex-Luzern Market); (BA 203757), ARV² 357.1; Christie, Manson and Woods, *Sale catalogue* 14.6.1996, no. 78. Colmar Painter; 500–480 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Copenhagen. Thorvaldsen Museum, 107; (BA 201345), ARV² 149.20, *Add* 179; Juthner, J. (1968) *Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, II. Vienna: 173, fig. 47, 175, fig. 49. Epeleios Painter; 520–500 BC. Also cup, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1942.262; (BA 203834), ARV² 364.42. Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC. And cup fr., Attic RF, Bolligen, R. Blatter; (BA 275929), *Para* 362. Antiphon Painter; 490–480 BC. Also cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection, 2.79; (BA 46653); (Gräf and Langlotz 1933: pl. 5.79). 510–480 BC. See amphora, Attic RF, Hamm, Museum, 3690; (BA 204099), ARV² 383.206, *Add* 113, *Add* 228; AJA 84 (1980) pl. 39, fig. 8. From Italy, Nola; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. And lekythos, Attic RF, Collection Moretti; (BA 204118), ARV² 384.217. Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Orvieto, 590; (BA 204537), ARV² 416.6; CVA, Umbria, Musei Comunali 1, III.I.C.III.I.D.10, pl. 8.1–3. From Italy, Orvieto; Painter of Louvre G265; 480–470 BC. Also cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 00.338; (BA 205048), ARV² 427.4, *Para* 374, *Add* 11, *Add* 235; Buitron-Oliver, D. (1995) *Douris, A Master Painter of Athenian Red-figure Vases*. Mainz: pl. 9, no. 14. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Douris (by signature); 500–460 BC.

¹⁹ Amphora, Attic BF, Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum, 249; (BA 320389), ARV² 296.10, *Para* 128, *Add* 78; Connelly 1993: fig. 38. Painter of Berlin 1686; 550–530 BC. See amphora, Attic BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.124; (BA 320430), ARV² 79, *Para* 130, *Add* 79; LIMC VII, pl. 675, s.v. 'Kassandra' 64. Princeton Group; 550–530 BC. And amphora, Attic BF, Rome, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, G22; (BA 302940), ARV² 393.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Munich 1519; 550–530 BC. And lekythos, Attic BF, Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50437; (BA 330187), ARV² 453.5, *Para* 196, *Add* 114; LIMC VIII, pl. 676, s.v. 'Kassandra' 73. Painter of the Nicosia Olpe; 550–530 BC.

²⁰ For red-figure depictions, see Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 741; (BA 201909), ARV² 203.101, *Add* 96, *Add* 193; CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2, 11, pls. 55.1–2, 56.1–3; ARFH I, fig. 158. Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC. Skyphos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.186; (BA 204681), ARV² 458.1, 1654, 481, *Add* 119, *Para* 377, *Add* 243; (Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 85); ARFH I, fig. 308.1–2. From Italy, Suessula; Makron (Hieron Potter by signature); 490–470 BC. Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 126053; (BA 201896), ARV² 202.88, *Add* 192; Ghali-Kahil 1955: pl. 59. From Italy, Capua; Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC. Amphora, Attic BF, Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum, 249; (BA 320389), ARV² 296.10, *Para* 128, *Add* 78; Connelly 1993: fig. 38. Painter of Berlin 1686; 550–530 BC.

her breasts and entreating the warrior to come and see for himself, and Ajax's backside in full view.

According to Brownlee (1989), another famous episode of the *Iliad*, the Ransom of Hector, has possibly given rise to a visual parody on an amphora in Boston.²² There is clearly something unusual about the iconography of this amphora, and there are hints of humour. One side of the amphora shows a cart with goods, which probably contain wine. The other side shows a scene of supplication between warriors. Brownlee goes on to say: 'the combination of a cargo of goods and a scene of supplication supports a ransom ... the most famous tale of a ransom in Greek literature and art is of course the ransom of Hector' (1989: 12). There is a missing character: Hector's body, clearly an established element in the usual iconography, which Brownlee acknowledges (1989: 14) but explains by saying that 'the Boston amphora actually makes the vase seem closer to the story we are told in *Iliad* 24 than as it is depicted on most other vases'. This is a methodological mistake: literature and the visual art may have a similar origin but do not follow the same paths. The author notes more discrepancies with the usual iconography (1989: 17): 'The mule cart does not carry a cargo of precious metal objects and garments; it carries wine-filled amphorae. One of the mules is ithyphallic. Priam is not an old, white-haired man'. This amphora might have been intended to be comical, but I am not sure in which way. The author's explanation for humour in the scene is that it came from an external source, from comedy or satyr play (1989: 18): 'it is probable that his inspiration came from an external source? The image on the Boston amphora is the painter's view of a comic performance he had seen and heard'. Notwithstanding the fact that the amphora probably dates back to the 550s BC, and that the first comic competitions occurred about 60 years later, there are numerous visual parodies that could readily explain the presence of this one, without having to make 'dramatic' leaps of faith.²³

Bellerophon

Other heroes, such as Bellerophon, are also mocked on vases: compare, for instance, a proper version of the painting on a pelike in Paris (fig. 44)²⁴ where Bellerophon rides the winged horse Pegasus to fight against the Chimaera to a parody of the myth on an askos in Hamburg (fig. 45).²⁵ According to the myth, the hero had to tame the winged

²² Amphora, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1979.618; (BA 41058); (Brownlee 1989: figs. 1–3); Crouwel, J. H. (1992) *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece, Allard Pierson Series* 9, Amsterdam: pl. 24.3. Painter of Munich 1379; 550–530 BC.

²³ See further, 'The Satyr, an Anti-hero'.

²⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G535; (BA 214380), ARV² 1067.9; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III.I.D.28, III.I.D.29, pl. 41.1–5; scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, no. 155. From Italy, Nola; Barclay Painter; 440–420 BC.

²⁵ Askos, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1984.457; (BA 46028); LIMC VII, 216, pl. 143, s.v. 'Pegasus' 18. 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 44. *Bellerophon and the Chimaera*. Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G535; Barclay Painter; 440–420 BC. Scanned Photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, no. 155.

horse first. The Hamburg tiny wine container shows a balding dwarfish hero with a bow in one hand and a stone in the other, aiming at a winged horse on the other side of the vase. He has either run out of arrows or has no idea how to use the bow and thus is throwing stones at Pegasus, probably despairing of ever taming the magical animal.



Figure 45. *Caricatured Bellerophon and Pegasus*. Askos, Attic RF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1984-457; 460-440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Pygmies and Cranes

Pygmies are not dwarfs: they are well-proportioned men of very short stature.²⁵ In Greek, both words that define unusually small persons, *pugmaios* and *nanos*, are interchangeable. *Pugmaios* derives from *pugnē*, which means 'fist' and refers to a measure of length – 'from the elbow to the knuckle' (Ar. *Peace* 790; Gell. NA 19.13.3). Pygmies also differ from dwarfs in that the former are in fact mythological characters. They should not be confused with the pygmies of central Africa. According to Homer: 'In the autumn, migrating cranes waged war on a population of pygmies living by the stream of Ocean' (Il. 3.2-6). It seems at first that most ancient authors insist on the truth of their existence. Herodotus (4.43), however, describing a population in Africa does not call them pygmies but 'short people'

²⁵ Discussions on dwarfs and caricature are found further in Chapter 5.

(*anthrōpous smikrōus*), perhaps because he reserved the term for incredibly short men only.²⁶ In black- and red-figure vase-painting, pygmies are not shown with African facial traits (curly hair, snub nose, thick lips) with the exception of a pygmy who does not have curly hair but has a snub nose and thick lips on a lekythos in Paris.²⁷ When painters want to show African features, they do so very clearly: for example, Busiris and his servants often have African traits. In the black-figure technique, the curly hair is usually incised, as on a belly-amphora in Cincinnati.²⁸ There are a number of examples in the red-figure technique.²⁹

If *pugmē* meant 'fist' and 'boxing', this etymology could explain why pygmies are always shown fighting cranes. The iconography of pygmies fighting cranes is known in Greek art from the early sixth century until at least the second century BC. The way they are depicted in black-figure contrasts greatly with red-figure. In the former they are shown as little men, in the latter as grotesque dwarf-like figures.

On the foot of the François Vase (fig. 46),³⁰ pygmies fight cranes. On one side, the battle is fierce: from left to right, a pygmy lies wounded whilst another is about to strike a crane; further, a pygmy has caught with a crook the neck of a crane about to plunge its beak into another pygmy's eyes. On the other side, three pygmies mounted on goats join battle with the 'enemy', armed with slings. A dead crane lies on the ground. Although most of the preceding and following examples are Attic, pygmies fighting cranes are found in other regional wares.³¹ On the shoulder of a hydria in Paris,³² five naked pygmies, with short curved knives and clubs, fight against four cranes. A sixth pygmy leaves to the left with a crane on his shoulder, and a seventh lies on the ground pushed over by a crane. Except for three who are bearded, the pygmies are physically much the same as those on the François Vase.

Geranomachies resemble other combats in so far as they are 'realistic', and the absurdity of little men fighting migrating birds is almost forgotten. Homer was the first to allude to a *geranomachy*, as he was the first to describe the bloody fights between the Greek and Trojan heroes. Ancient viewers knew many fights from vase-painting and sculpture in which heroes or anonymous warriors fought other men, animals, or monsters. They are all imposing and ferocious, and the fights are of an epic nature. In *geranomachies*, however, tiny men fight 'terrifying' cranes. If the viewer had in mind the famous

²⁶ See Janni 1978: 31 and Ballabriga 1981: 60, fn. 19.

²⁷ Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, TH16; (BA 47067); Dasen 1993: pl. 67.2, no. 78.

²⁸ Amphora, Attic BF, Cincinnati, Art Museum, 1959.1; (BA 340563), *Add³* 80, *Para* 134.23ter; *ABFH*, fig. 143. Swing Painter; 550–530 BC.

²⁹ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E38; (BA 200460), *ARV²* 72.16, 1623, *Add* 82, *Add³* 167, *Para* 328; *ARFH I*, fig. 75. 1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epiktetos (Python Potter by signature); 520–490 BC. See also pelike, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 9683; (BA 206325), *ARV²* 554.82, *Add* 126, *Add³* 258, *Para* 386; *ARFH I*, fig. 336. Pan Painter, 480–460 BC. On Africans and foreigners, see Snowden 1976 and M. C. Miller 2000.

³⁰ Volute-krater, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209; (BA 300000), *ABV* 76.1, 682, *Para* 29, *Add³* 21; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 1.1, 3.3, 11.1. From Italy, Chiusi; Kleitias and Ergotimos; 570–560 BC.

³¹ See Dasen 1993: cat. 49–58; see Chapter 5, 'Pygmies Fighting Cranes'.

³² Hydria, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F44; (BA 371), *CVA*, France 9, Louvre 6, Ill, He, pl. 65.5–6. From Italy, Etruria; 560–530 BC.



Figure 46. *Pygmies fighting cranes*. Volute-krater, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209; Kleitias and Ergotimos; 570–560 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler et al. 1904: pl. 1.1, 3.3, 11.1.

Calydonian boar hunt represented on the François Vase itself,¹³ on the first register or even the cup signed by Archikles and Glaukytes,¹⁴ or Herakles using a sling against the Stymphalian birds, as on a belly amphora in London,¹⁵ pygmies fiercely fighting cranes could only seem ridiculous. On the François Vase, the Calydonian boar hunt is in the middle of the first register, whereas the pygmies are painted on the foot. This indicates the importance given to the first versus the second, as a light humorous echo of an epic struggle. The *geranomachy* is a typical example of mock-heroism; it is a parody of heroic fights.

In red-figure, pygmies are sometimes still represented as they were in black-figure. On a hydria in Bologna,¹⁶ three naked pygmies fight three cranes. Although the pygmy

¹³ Florence, 4209.

¹⁴ Cup, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2243; (BA 310552), ABV 160.2, 163.2, Para 68, Add² 47; CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 11, pls. 2.7–9, 3.1, 4.1–2, 5.1–3, 6.1–3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Glaukytes and Archikles Potters; 575–550 BC.

¹⁵ Amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B163; (BA 301062), ABV 134.28, Add² 36, Para 55; LIMC V, pl. 71, s.v. 'Herakles', cat. 2241. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Group E; 560–525 BC.

¹⁶ Hydria, Attic RF, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 169; (BA 206572), ARV² 571.80; LIMC VII, pl. 470, s.v. 'Pygmaioi' 9; Dasen 1993: cat. 61, pl. 63.1. From Italy, Bologna; Leningrad Painter; 480–460 BC.

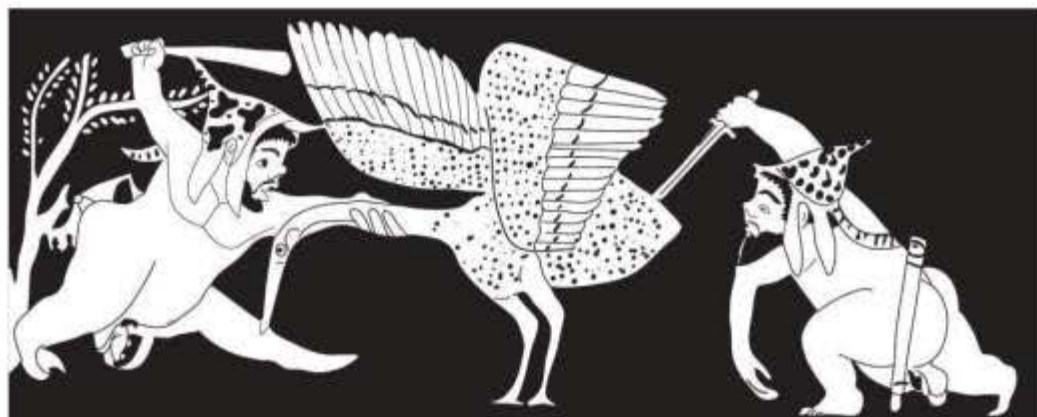


Figure 47. *Caricatured pygmies (apish dwarfs) fighting cranes*. Rhyton, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 679; Brygos Painter, 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

on the far right is balding, their physical aspect is not dwarfish. A hydria fragment in Athens³⁷ shows two pygmies fighting cranes. The pygmy on the left shields himself from the crane's assault, as on a cup from the London market.³⁸ In most red-figure representations, however, pygmies are portrayed as dwarfs. On a rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter in St. Petersburg (fig. 47),³⁹ two pygmies fight a crane. Beazley attributed the comic scene with the infant Hermes⁴⁰ to the same artist. The pygmies here are grossly deformed. They have very large protruding bellies and buttocks, and their dangling genitals almost touch the ground. They both wear Scythian soft pointed hats, better suited to Scythian or Thracian warriors than dwarfs or pygmies. The first pygmy grabs the crane by the neck and is about to strike it with his club, but the second cowardly thrusts his blade into the crane's backside. By doing so, his left arm is left hanging exactly like an ape's. Galen (*Nat. Fac.* 1.22) says that a painter or a sculptor could find no better parody of a human hand than the forepaw of the ape. For Galen (*Nat. Fac.* 1.22; 3.8, 16; 13.11; 15.8), apes are laughable and ridiculous imitations of man. According to Athenaeus: 'The Scythian sage Anacharsis said that when human jesters were introduced at a banquet, he did not smile, but burst out laughing when an ape was brought in. This animal, so he said, was laughable by nature, but human jesters only by practice' (14.613d).

It is the almost-but-not-quite human posture that was humorous: satyrs can be mocked further by comparing them to apes (Soph. *Ichn.* 121–2). On a vase in Paris,⁴¹ an ape is

³⁷ Hydria fr., Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P8892; (BA 206794), ARV² 587.63, Add² 263; Lamberton, R. D. and Rotroff, S. I. (1985) *Birds of the Athenian Agora*. Princeton 20, fig. 38. From Greece, Athens Agora; Early Mannerist; 480–470 BC.

³⁸ Cup, Attic RF, London market; (BA 352424), *Para* 328.127. Oltos; 525–500 BC.

³⁹ Rhyton, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 679; (BA 204087), ARV² 382.188 (1649), *Para* 512, Add² 113, Add² 228; (Hoffmann 1962: 10, no. 9, pl. ii.4). Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁴⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16582; (BA 203905), ARV² 369.6, 1649, Add² 111, Add² 224, *Para* 367; Carpenter 1991: fig. 106. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC.

⁴¹ Olpe, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G241; (BA 275207), ARV² 1648; Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 132.G241. Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC.

trying to grab an apple from his master's hand, and on a Nolan amphora in London,⁴² a veiled woman is standing in front of an ape or a child dressed as an ape on a square construction. The ape seems to be holding the woman's bridal girdle in his hand. On a cup in Rome,⁴³ four apes or youths with ape-heads are playing on a see-saw while one at the centre holds a krater. On the other side, a satyr sitting on a rock blows into a syrinx and makes three goats dance to his music.

The pygmy depicted on a rhyton in Berlin⁴⁴ does not share the baby-like appearance⁴⁵ of those on the St. Petersburg rhyton (fig. 47): he is squat but muscular. His face is caricatured in the likeness of an ape because of his jutting lower jaw. As the face of the pygmy is shown frontally, his large hanging scrotum is well in view. This position is not uncommon in other fights, but the genitals are always reduced and the scrotum well attached, as the body parts of Sinis on a cup in London.⁴⁶ Thus, the position of the Berlin pygmy is intended to be grotesque. The squatting pygmy on an askos in Prague⁴⁷ has the same hanging scrotum but is also macrophallic, and his penis touches the ground. He is shown in a frontal view with a bulging stomach; his balding head is exceedingly deformed, and his small and twisted club is barely an offensive weapon. The interesting aspect of this pygmy is that he wears a *chlamys* on his left shoulder and arm so as to shield himself from the crane's beak. The *chlamys* is the typical attire of huntsmen, warriors, and heroes. A naked pygmy depicted on an amphora in Brussels⁴⁸ uses a leopard's skin as a shield and fights with a knotty club. His demeanour is not caricatured as that of the other pygmies described above. Although evidently a dwarf (he has a large head and a small disproportioned body), he is much more dignified. His attitude, however, resembles Herakles' so much that his seriousness is all the more amusing. It must be a comical reference. Dasen (1993: 187) writes that the fight is humorous because of the obvious reference to the greatest hero of all, Herakles, although his fight is against monsters that threaten civilisation, while pygmies are the real monsters, 'cranes, tall, thin and elegant refer, like Herakles, to the Hellenic order'.

Herakles

Herakles, son of Zeus, is well-known for his twelve labours. But he performed many more labours throughout the Mediterranean. He was what we could call today a 'super

⁴² Neck-amphora, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E307; (BA 4707); Hopfner 1994: 327, fig. 310; CVA, London, British Museum 5, III.1c.6, pl. 55.1a-b. From Italy, Capua; Manner of Achilles Painter; 460-450 BC.

⁴³ Cup, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 64224; (BA 352430), *Para* 330; Lissarrague 1988b: fig. 7; Riccioni, G. and Falconi Amorelli, M. (1968) *La Tomba della Panatenaica di Vulci, Quaderni di Villa Giulia* 3, Rome: no. 24. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Euergides Painter; 515-500 BC.

⁴⁴ Rhyton, Attic RF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F2758; (BA 29107); Hoffmann 1962: 21, no. 49, pl. x.1. From Italy, Ruvo.

⁴⁵ Compare to a baby on Paris, Louvre, CA2505.

⁴⁶ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E48; (BA 205091), ARV² 431.47, 1653, *Add* 117, *Add*² 236; CVA, London, British Museum 9, pls. 26.a-b, 27.a-d; ARFH I, fig. 287. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Douris (by signature); 500-460 BC.

⁴⁷ Askos, Attic RF, Prague, Museum of Applied Arts, Z260.1K18; (BA 21358); Hoffmann 1977: 13, no. 137.

⁴⁸ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R302; (BA 213557), ARV² 1044.7; CVA, Belgium 2, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2, pl. 7.3, pl. 8.5. Epimedes Painter; 460-440 BC.



Figure 48. *Caricatured Herakles and ape-like Nike on a chariot pulled by a centaur.* Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N3408; Nikias Painter; 410–390 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

hero': not only was he stronger than any man but also than any other ancient hero. He is the opposite of an urbanite Theseus. He is larger than life. Maybe because he hunts down and kills monsters, Herakles is uncouth, sleeps on the rough, and does not follow the normal social codes of behaviour. Because of this, he was used by the Cynics as a symbol of virtue. Then again, he sleeps with countless women, sometimes fifty a night, eats gigantic portions of food, and drinks wine to excess. This makes him a very easy target for parody!

A Caricature of Herakles' Apotheosis

Representations of frontal faces in Greek vase-painting are scarce.⁴⁹ Caricatured faces are sometimes mistaken for masks because of their abnormality and rigid aspect. A good example of caricature is a red-figure oinochoe in Paris (fig. 48),⁵⁰ and a bell-krater in Ruvo,⁵¹ which shows the apotheosis of Herakles driven by a Nike on a chariot pulled by centaurs. Most representations of Herakles' apotheosis seem to appear towards

⁴⁹ See Korshak 1977 and Frontisi-Ducroux 1995.

⁵⁰ Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N3408; (BA 217495), ARV² 1335.34, 1690 *Para* 522, *Add* 182, *Add* 365; ARFH II, fig. 321. From Libya, Cyrenaica; Nikias Painter; 410–390 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵¹ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 422; (BA 260020), ARV² 1420.4, *Para* 490; ARFH II, fig. 354. From Italy, Ruvo; Painter of London F64; 390–360 BC.

the end of the fifth century.⁵² None resemble the Paris version of Herakles' ascent to Olympus. The leading figure on the right is wearing special tights and has a hanging phallos as in many depictions found in Southern Italy, the so-called phlyax vases.⁵³ This is not to say that the whole scene is a representation of a performed play: the figures are caricatured, and vase-painters, in order to remind the viewer of the atmosphere of comedy, pick here and there details from other media. Every face in the painting is caricatured. All the elements of the apotheosis are debased in a ridiculous fashion. Nike's face is almost ape-like and Herakles' is grossly deformed, with a protruding nose, very large eyes, and thick creases in between. The horses have become centaurs whose faces are even uglier than usual. All the faces are distorted 'with a touch of what we, and probably the Fifth-century Athenian, would regard as humour' (Boardman 1989: 167). This scene, through the use of caricature and the centaur inversion, is a parody of the noble depictions of Herakles' ascent to Olympus, his transformation from the status of hero to that of a god.

Herakles and the Lion Skin

Herakles' first labour was to kill the Nemean Lion. According to the myth, the lion's hide was impenetrable. This is why, in most depictions, Herakles' wrestles with the beast rather than shoot 'useless' arrows or wield a 'harmless' sword. His weapons usually hang in the background or on the branch of a tree. On an amphora in Rome (fig. 49),⁵⁴ Herakles is wrestling with the Nemean lion. There is a sword at his feet, not in the background. Herakles is wrestling and not using the sword. This can only mean that the sword is useless in this situation – as we already know. However, the sword is shown bent out of shape. Through this comical insistence, the vase-painter makes us imagine the scene, Herakles hitting the impenetrable skin so hard, he crinkles the metal of his sword. In an era where doubtless many deaths occurred through sword-play and other hand-to-hand combat, such a dangerous and formidable weapon as a sharp bronze sword lying deformed at the hero's feet is comical through its absurdity.

The story of Herakles enslaved by Omphale, the queen of Lydia (Soph. *Trach.* 247; Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.6.3; 2.7.8), has often been a source of inspiration for artists. On a pelike in London (fig. 50),⁵⁵ Herakles has put his club down and is about to hand over his famous lion skin to a young woman and to receive in exchange a *chiton*. On the other side of the vase, another woman holds her hand out as if to receive the lion skin. Rather than acting

⁵² Munich, 2360; (BA 215719), ARV² 1186.30, 1685; ARFH II, fig. 311; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2, 19, pls. 80.11, 81.1–2, 82.1–3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Kadmos Painter; 440–420 BC. See, however, a black-figure amphora in R. Wace Gallery, London: see Mitchell 2008a: fig. 9.

⁵³ See further, Chapter 4.

⁵⁴ Amphora, Attic BF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50406; (BA 320345), ABV 291.4, Para 127, Add² 76; Bérard 1984: 13, fig. 5. Near Painter of Boulogne 441; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵⁵ Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E370; (BA 215017), ARV² 1134.7, Add² 333; Vollkommer 1988: 34, no. 217, fig. 42; LIMC VII, pl. 30, s.v. 'Omphale' 2. From Italy, Nola; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 49. *Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion after bending his sword against the lion's skin*. Amphora, Attic BF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50406; Near Painter of Boulogne 441; 550–530 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

as Omphale the powerful queen, the corpulent woman seems to be a housewife who cannot bear Herakles' wildness. If one compares the bundle of clothes being exchanged, the lion skin seems to have lost its magical qualities and turned into a smelly bundle of caveman's fittings. Both bundles resemble many similar representations of bundles of cloths about to be washed.⁵⁶ The vase shows neither an effeminate Herakles wearing women's clothes, nor Omphale in heroic outfit. The submissive theme is treated here on a comical tone, where the exchange of clothes, lion skin against proper clothes, is really dirty washing for fresh linen. As he loses his freedom willingly and drops his huge club, Herakles loses, temporarily, his divine essence to join the common folk, far away from any heroic world. The painter shows the humorous descent from the heroic world into the laundry room.

In a similar fashion, a pelike in Paris (fig. 51)⁵⁷ shows an unusually trim and urbanite Herakles. Herakles is shown here neatly folding up his lion skin by holding it from

⁵⁶ Vienna, 836. See also pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G549; (BA 214915), ARV² 1128.106, Add² 332; ARFH II, fig. 208; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III.LD.33, pl. 46.4–5.7. From Italy, Nola; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC.

⁵⁷ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 397; (BA 202583), ARV² 285.8, Add² 209; LIMC IV, 549, fig. 1561; Ridder 1902: 291–2. From Italy, Capua; Geras Painter; 510–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

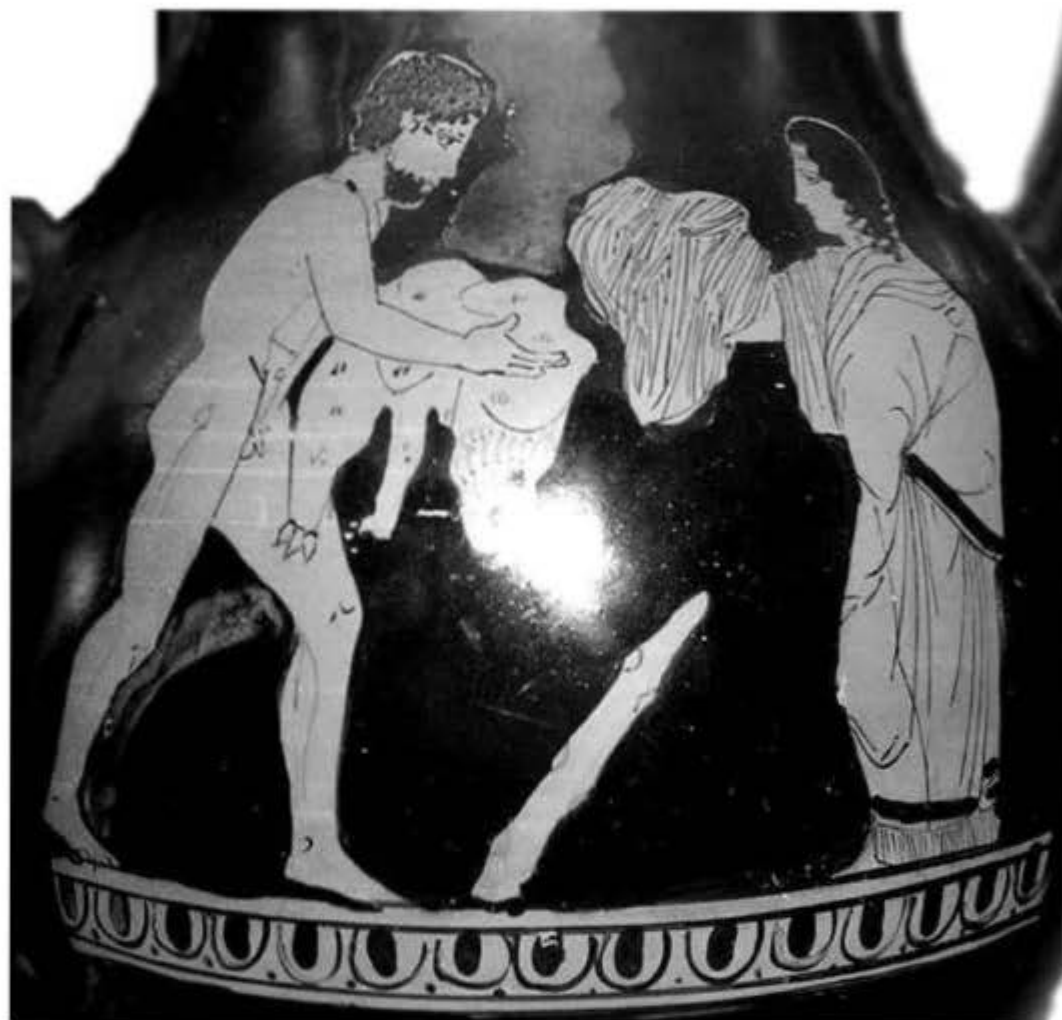


Figure 50. *Herakles exchanging his lion skin for women's clothes*. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E370; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

its back paws. To his left stands a man whose appearance is not that of a citizen, with a long bushy beard, similar to Antaios the giant on Euphronios's krater in Paris (fig. 52),¹⁸ wrestling with Herakles. Here, the unidentified figure is doing stretching exercises before a fight, which are usually performed by athletes at the *palestra*, as in the tondo of a cup in London (fig. 53).¹⁹ Herakles' lion skin has become, as on the pelike in London (fig. 50),²⁰ just a piece of clothing that one can fold away. But Herakles

¹⁸ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G103; (BA 200064), ARV² 14.2, 1584, 1619, *Add* 73, *Add* 152; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pls. 92–3. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Euphronios (by signature); 525–505 BC.

¹⁹ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E83; (BA 217228), ARV² 1270.19, *Add* 356; Yegül, F. K. (1992) *Baths and Batting in Classical Antiquity*. London: fig. 21; Gardiner 1930: fig. 47. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Codrus Painter; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²⁰ London, E370.



Figure 51. *Herakles rolling up carefully his lion skin before a wrestling match.* Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 397; Geras Painter; 510–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is anything but a tidy citizen! One imagines him rather throwing the lion skin over a branch, to the floor, or actually wearing it as he does in most fights. The gesture of his opponent is found at the *palestra*, before and after physical exertion, not in a fight to death but in a boxing match. This re-use of a gesture in a different setting is a common enough habit for many painters, for example the clever wrestling lock Herakles uses in countless fights with lions or Antaios on the krater in Paris (fig. 52)⁶¹ is found at the *palestra*, not in the wild. Another interesting aspect of the scene is that both characters

⁶¹ Paris, Louvre, G103.



Figure 52. *Herakles fighting Antaios*. Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G103; Euphronios (by signature); 525–505 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pls. 92–3.

are preparing conscientiously for a proper fight: Herakles shows no animosity towards his opponent. The atmosphere is that of two athletes at the palaestra. On the other side of the pelike, a young man is facing a hermaic pillar, a sign of the palaestra (Bérard and Vernant 1984: 30–1). The whole parody here, as in the pelike in London, is based on the Bergsonian *décalage* between the realm of myth and the world of everyday life, and the contrast between a fierce Herakles and a neat athlete who does not want to dirty his lion skin with oil.

Herakles and Old Age

The Greeks had a cheerless view of the afterlife,⁶² ‘living’ forever as ‘shadows’, *eidōla*, in the underworld. When Odysseus pays his respects to Achilles in Hades, the latter confesses that he would rather live as a cow-herder, as a servant to a poor farmer who has no great livelihood, than reign over the dead who are no more (Hom. *Od.* 11.489–91). Youth in archaic and classical Athens was a value in itself. The older one

⁶² On death in its various guises, see Knight 1970; Boardman and Kurtz 1971; Vermeule 1979; and Sourvinou-Inwood 1996.



Figure 53. *Stretching athletes*. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E83; Codrus Painter, 440-420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

grew, the closer one drew near death. To the Greeks, the underworld was not seen as a haven after the turmoil of life; it was sombre and gloomy. Many myths of immortality (herb of immortality, immortality by fire or water, immortality given or refused to mortals by the gods), eternal youth (Tithonos is a perfect counter-example), and rejuvenation (Pelias and Medea) abound in Greek mythology. Youth had to be enjoyed to the full, and the contrast between old age and youth was more emphasised than it is in our present age.

In literature, the coming of old age was a threat and could be either lamented or made fun of, depending on the mood of the writer.⁶¹ Nestor (Hom. *Il.* 23.623) can no longer

⁶¹ See Richardson 1933 and Falkner 1989. See also Barrick, A. L., Hutchinson, R., and Deckers, L. H. (1990) "Humor, Aggression, and Ageing". *Gerontologist* 30.5: 675-8; Datan, N. (1986) "The Last Minority: Humor, Old Age, and Marginal Identity", in *Humor and Aging*, L. Nahemow et al. (ed.), Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

box or wrestle, for 'grievous old age', *chalepon gēras*, weighs heavily upon him. To quote Theognis (2.1021) 'it [old age] is destructive, deadly' and it is 'the most evil of all things among mortals' and 'more grievous than death and all diseases'. These expressions are *topoi* on old age among the Greeks (Richardson 1933: 8–9).

Another *topos* is to laugh at old age. Aesop (60) laughs at death itself in *The Old Man and Death*. An exhausted old man, tired of carrying wood, invokes Death. When it appears and inquires as to why it was invoked, the old man replies: 'to help me carry my burden'; and Aesop writes: 'the fable shows that every man, even in misfortune, is fond of life'. According to Demetrius: 'Lysias is said to have remarked to an old woman's lover that it was easier to count her teeth than her fingers' (*Eloc.* 262). Aristophanes (*Ach.* 210–22) makes fun of the chorus of old men running after Amphiheos. They lament strongly upon 'the heavy weight of years' and 'stiffened joints'. The examples are boundless.

The fear of death and of old age was expressed differently in art. The emphasis was put on youth and manhood, and in comparison, representations of old age are scarce. Not only was youth idealised through everlasting beauty, but old age was often identified with ugliness. This duality of life could be exaggerated to an extent through caricature.

Five vases show the encounter of handsome Herakles and ugly Geras, the personification of old age. The chronological extremes of the group are represented by a black-figure lekythos in Adolphseck,⁶⁴ 490 BC at the earliest, and the fragments of a red-figure skyphos in Oxford,⁶⁵ painted just before the middle of the century (Shapiro 1993: 89). A red-figure pelike in Rome (fig. 54)⁶⁶ shows Herakles, tall and muscular, the paws of his lion skin neatly folded into a knot on his chest, leaning on a long club. He keeps a hand on his hip while he talks with an old man. The latter's name, GERAS, is inscribed on a pelike in London⁶⁷ and on a pelike in Paris.⁶⁸ He is the personification of old age, a hunchback bent over a twisted staff. He is macrophallic, bald, and his nose is strongly curved. Baldness was a subject to ridicule as in the case of Thersites in the *Iliad* (2.216–19): 'The ugliest of the Greeks, who besides being bandy-legged and stooped, had a head covered with only a small amount of thin downy hair'.⁶⁹

161–72; Mager, M. and Cabe, P. A. (1990) "Effect of Death Anxiety on Perception of Death-Related Humor". *Psychologic Talk Reports* 66.3: 1311–14; Sheppard, A. (1981) "Response to Cartoons and Attitudes Toward Aging". *Journal of Gerontology* 36: 122–6; Thorson, J. A. and Powell, F. C. (1993) "Relationships of Death Anxiety and Sense of Humor". *Psychological Reports* 72.3: 1364–6.

⁶⁴ Lekythos, Attic BF, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 12; (BA 303575), ABV 491.60, Add² 122, Para 223; CVA, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, pl. 13.4–6; LIMC IV, pl. 101, s.v. 'Geras' 3. From Greece; Class of Athens 581; 510–500 BC.

⁶⁵ Skyphos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1943.79; (BA 211723), ARV² 889.160, Add² 302, Para 428; LIMC IV, pl. 101, s.v. 'Geras' 2; Shapiro 1993: fig. 46. From Italy, Spina; Penthesilea Painter; 460–440 BC.

⁶⁶ Pelike, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 48238; (BA 202567), ARV² 284.1, Add 104, Add² 208; CVA, Italia 64, Roma, Villa Giulia 4, 25, fig. 8, pl. 22. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Matsch Painter; 480–460 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁶⁷ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E290; (BA 207611), ARV² 1571, 653.1, Add² 276; CVA, London, British Museum 5, III.Ic.4, pl. 48.2a–b; Shapiro 1993: fig. 45. Charmides Painter; 460–440 BC.

⁶⁸ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G234; (BA 202622), ARV² 286.16, 1642, Add 104, Add² 209; LIMC IV, 181, s.v. 'Geras', no. 4; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 6, III.Ic.36, III.Ic.37, pl. 48.1–6; after (Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 131). From Italy, Capua (?); Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

⁶⁹ See further, Chapter 6, 'Freedom of Expression and Democracy'.



Figure 54. *Herakles and Geras*. Pelike, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 48238; Matsch Painter; 480–460 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Geras's macrophally was a sign of social inelegance. In Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1011–20), the Right Reasoning says:

If you do what I say and apply your mind to it, you will always have a healthy chest, a lustrous complexion, large shoulders, a short tongue, a fleshy behind, a small penis (*posthēn mikran*); but if you follow the customs of the present day you will have a pale complexion, narrow shoulders, a small chest, a lengthy tongue, insignificant buttocks, a large penis (*kōlēn megalēn*).

Geras's macrophally is a sign of debauchery. On a rhyton in Paris,⁷⁰ an old man dances in a grotesque fashion and courts a youth who tries to escape. This behaviour is satirised

⁷⁰ Rhyton, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 367; (BA 203756), ARV² 357.74; CVA, France 15, Petit Palais, pl. 28.1–3. From Italy, Capua; Colmar Painter; 500–480 BC.

by Theophrastus, (*Char.* 8) and Plato (*Phdr.* 240a–1a). A pelike in Athens⁷¹ shows an elderly pedagogue with a downy beard and a bent nose (caricature?) carrying a net purse and courting a young man. Geras's aspect is markedly hideous in every physical detail. Ugliness is found elsewhere in vase-painting. Charon the ferryman is often shown on white-ground lekythoi⁷² with an old tattered hat, high cheekbones, a pointed nose, and a thin dishevelled beard. In literature, he is a dark, grisly old man. Boreas the northern wind is ugly too, his beard and hair standing like protruding spikes on an amphora in Munich.⁷³ He is also known for conceiving divine horses with one of the Erinyes and a Harpy, both ugly mythological figures. Hephaistos was ridiculed because of his unique ugliness among the gods and especially because of his marriage with Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty and love. All these characters are ugly or repulsive, but Geras's ugliness is exaggerated to the extent of the grotesque. As Bergson says: 'For exaggeration to be comic, it must not appear as an aim, but rather as a means that the artist is using in order to make manifest to our eyes the distortions which he sees in embryo' (1921: 1.3).

The comedy originates too in the iconographic parallel the viewer would have made between the two figures facing each other and the numerous representations of citizens conversing, leaning on their staff. Herakles' weapon resembles a cane more than a club, as on a pelike in Paris⁷⁴ where Herakles is wooing a young woman leaning on his club, which has the length and the narrowness of a 'citizen's cane', and as Hermes leaning on his *caduceus* while performing a libation at an altar.⁷⁵ The superiority of youth over the decrepitude of old age is comical as well as the parody of standard iconography. On the London pelike,⁷⁶ Herakles is in hot pursuit after Geras who turns round pitifully. C. Smith writes: 'Geras is here represented as repulsive, nay almost grotesque ... Herakles offers him actual violence' (1883: 101). On the Villa Giulia pelike (fig. 54),⁷⁷ Geras's lips are parted, which implies that the old man is talking. His gesture of the open hand is another sign of discussion. Herakles' superiority in these scenes has been considered to be matched by Geras's supposed skills in discussion (Hafner 1958: 141–51; Grmek and Gourevitch 1998: 157). Yet, Herakles does not heed Geras's gestures of supplication on the London pelike and on the Paris pelike.⁷⁸ On the former, Herakles holds Geras firmly by the scruff of the neck and is about to crush his head with his massive

⁷¹ Pelike, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1418; (BA 216178), ARV² 1104.11, Add² 329; CVA: Athens, Musée National 2, III.ID.16, pl. 30.1–3; Meyer, M. (1988) 'Männer mit Geld'. *Jdl* 103: 112, fig. 26. From Phocis, Drachmani; Orpheus Painter; 450–430 BC.

⁷² Lekythos, Attic RF WG, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1926; (BA 212341), ARV² 846.193, Add² 145, Add² 297, *Para* 423; ARFH II, fig. 255. Sabouroff Painter; 460–440 BC.

⁷³ Amphora, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2345; (BA 206422), ARV² 496.2, 1656, Add² 122, Add² 250; (Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: II, figs. 66–9 at p. 185, pls. 94–5); LIMC VII, pl. 49, s.v. 'Oreithyia' 115; ARFH II, fig. 30. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Oreithyia Painter; 490–470 BC. See also an oinochoe, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E512; (BA 206369), ARV² 557.125, Add² 127, Add² 259, *Para* 387; ARFH I, fig. 341. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

⁷⁴ Amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G203; ARV² 306.1; Rouillard and Verbanck-Piérard 2003: 218; fig. 1.

⁷⁵ Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Private Collection; (BA 206350), ARV² 556.107, *Para* 387; LIMCV, 353, no. 803. From Sicily, Agrigento; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

⁷⁶ London, E290.

⁷⁷ Rome, Villa Giulia, 48238.

⁷⁸ Paris, Louvre, G234.

club. The Villa Giulia pelike⁷⁹ bears the inscription 'KLAUSEI', 'you will weep'. If we take into account the other four depictions, we know the painter is referring to the next stage of the episode, Geras's beating. Romans would probably have said *a verbis ad verbera* ('from words to blows'). According to Shapiro (1993: 94),⁸⁰ the 'fundamental meaning of the episode, as one of the several legends symbolizing Herakles' victory over death ... [prefigures] his eventual apotheosis'. Herakles' youthfulness is emphasised on other vases. On a red-figure skyphos in Schwerin,⁸¹ a young beardless Herakles is accompanied by an old and bent woman with a decrepit face. Her name is inscribed, 'GEROPHSO'. The lines of her face and forearm may be tattoos, which were not uncommon among Thracians.⁸² The prefix *ger-* recalls *Geras*. The painter insists on the striking differences between youth and old age, this time in a humourless situation. The comic treatment of old age brings to light aspects of old men that are less respectable. Does not Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.1389a-90b) write that 'elderly men are uncertain, cynical, distrustful, selfish and slave of gain'? Menander, who was a contemporary of Aristotle, used these characteristics in comedies. *Dyskolos* is conceived just as a *comédie de mœurs*. Two black-figure skyphos fragments in The Hague⁸³ show caricatured figures. On the first, a small, old white-haired man places meat on a spit. Unusual incised lines enhance graphically his protruding belly. The painter insists on the greediness of the old man. Fat as he already is, he still grabs more meat. On the other fragment, an old hunchback is bending with a spit in one hand to seize some more meat. In the words of C. Smith: 'The Greeks, with their keen appreciation of the beautiful and love of enjoyment, would have felt less scruple in ridiculing a personification which typified for them a condition of life signifying destruction of beauty and loss of the power of enjoyment' (1883: 102).

The caricature of old men does not imply that they were not otherwise respected. Contrary to Richardson's assertion (1933: 27) that 'the idea that old age brings deeper reverence and piety is not particularly stressed' old age was respected in one's parents (Aesch. *Supp.* 680-9), where 'to honour the Gods' comes second after 'to honour the parents', and probably in powerful and wise old men. The fight between Herakles and old Nereus, as on a hydria in Paris,⁸⁴ is a serious fight between two powerful opponents: Herakles is fighting a potent older god, not another Geras.

⁷⁹ Rome, Villa Giulia, 48238.

⁸⁰ See also Beazley 1949-51: 18.

⁸¹ Skyphos, Attic RF, Schwerin, Staatliches Museen, 708; (BA 211358), ARV²: 859, 862.30, 1672, *Add* 146, *Add*² 298, *Para* 425; CVA, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1, pls. 24.1-2, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1-2, 28.1-4; Schulze, H. (1998) *Ammen und Pädagogen, Sklavinnen und Sklaven in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft*. Mainz: pl. 28. 1; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: pl. 163.1. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Pistoxenos Painter (Pistoxenos Potter by signature); 460-440 BC.

⁸² On Thracian slaves, see Zimmermann 1980.

⁸³ Skyphos fr., Boeotian BF, The Hague, Scheurleer Museum, 2575; (BA 14921); CVA, Netherlands 2, Hague 2, pl. 6. 3-4. From Italy, Taranto; 540-520 BC.

⁸⁴ Hydria, Attic BF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 255; (BA 302013), ABV 361.18, *Add*² 96, *Para* 161; LIMC VI, pl. 489, s.v. 'Nereides' 258; CVA, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2, pls. 58.6, 60.1-4, 61.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Leagros Group; 520-500 BC.

*Tricked Tricksters, Surprise, and the Degradation of Status**Eurystheus and the Erymanthian Boar (Tables 5A–B, 12)*

'The only labour which lends itself to humour' (Boardman 1991: 222). 'There is no story in all Greek mythology shown more comprehensively on the vases than the quest of Herakles for the Erymanthian Boar' (Luce 1924: 325). It is the final stage of the quest for the Erymanthian boar, Herakles' delivery of the boar to Eurystheus, which contributes most effectively to the investigation of situation comedy.

The capture of the Erymanthian boar is the third task imposed by Eurystheus upon Herakles (Soph. *Trach.* 1089; Hyg. *Fab.* 30; Quint. Smyrn. 6.220). When he brought it back to Mycenae alive, Eurystheus, terrified by Herakles and the living boar, threw himself into a pithos he had prepared as a hiding place. The story is known from Diodorus Siculus (4.12.2) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.187): 'He brought back the boar alive to Eurystheus; and when the king saw him carrying the boar on his shoulders, he was terrified and hid himself in a bronze pithos'.

The fact that this scene is found in sculpture from the mid sixth century BC, as on a limestone metope of the Treasury of Hera in Paestum,⁸⁵ until at least the third century AD, on Roman sarcophagi, as on a sarcophagus in Florence,⁸⁶ reveals its familiarity to artists and viewers alike. The scene is even represented, more than a thousand years later, on the façade of the Basilica San Marco in Venice.⁸⁷ In vase-painting and in sculpture, the elements of the composition are common enough to evaluate a reconstruction of a fragmentary metope of Olympia.⁸⁸ A man is clearly in a jar, and his arms (lost) were pointing upwards. In black- and red-figure, Eurystheus hides in a pithos, a part-buried large storage jar. He observes Herakles' return, bearing an enormous boar on his back or over his head. Eurystheus is usually shown waving his hands in despair and supplication.

On a cup in London (fig. 4),⁸⁹ Herakles approaches Eurystheus who is hiding in his pithos. A small distance away stands Athena, a woman, and an old man. Eurystheus is king of Mycenae. To see a man of superior status running for shelter in his own palace generally inspires amusement. Furthermore, the pithos itself is an unlikely place

⁸⁵ Limestone metope, 'Treasury' of Hera at the R. Silaris, Paestum. Paestum Museum; LIMC 5, pl. 6, s.v. 'Herakles' 1698. Mid sixth century BC.

⁸⁶ Sarcophagus, Florence, Museo dei Uffizi, 145; Sichterman and Koch 1975: pls. 48.2, 49, 50.2. ca. 200 AD.

⁸⁷ The Herakles slab was probably an original Roman slab, brought back from the pillage of Constantinople in 1204 or in the thirties years of pillage that followed. Interestingly, another slab was produced to balance it on the other side of the façade of the most important church in Venice, dedicated to its patron saint. This other one was produced by Venetian sculptors and shows Herakles capturing the Cerynian doe. Unexpectedly, it shows Herakles holding the doe above his head, as he usually does the boar but never the doe, and he treads on a crocodile. Herakles has been transformed into a Christian saint. It is still unclear to me why the first one was chosen at all. It seems likely that if the fifteenth-century author of the Herakles and the doe knew about the Labours, he was aware of the original meaning of the iconography of the Erymanthian boar. But meanings change over time. It is not uncommon in temple or church iconography to find a well-known gesture or composition emptied of its original meaning and replaced with a new one.

⁸⁸ Metope, Olympia Museum; LIMC 5, s.v. 'Herakles' 1705. Completed by 456 BC.

⁸⁹ London E44.

to hide. Apart from underworld scenes and depictions of Herakles' encounter with the centaur Pholos, part-buried pithoi are seldom depicted in vase-painting. Degradation is what makes the viewer laugh in this scene; it is 'the fact of making the character base' (*Tractatus Coislinianus* 6.5-6).⁹⁰ Surprise is an essential element of situation comedy, but in this scene, the degradation of the king acting in fear like an ordinary man makes Eurystheus ridiculous. The 'ridiculous' (*geloion*) is undoubtedly a source of laughter. In Euripides' *Herakleidae*, the aged Iolaos, Herakles' companion, hates the feeling that he might be considered a 'stay-at-home' (*oikourema*), a word which usually refers to a woman staying at home (Eur. *Herakl.* 700. See Eur. *Hipp.* 787, *Or.* 926). Eurystheus, on the other hand, is labelled a coward twice in the play (Eur. *Herakl.* 832, 836).

To find a king hiding in a pithos is amusing, but this representation occurs many times in vase-painting and in other art forms. After all, with so many depictions, we can assume that the viewers expected to see Eurystheus in a pithos as Herakles delivered the living boar. To what extent, then, was such a well-known picture amusing without the surprise effect? The frequency with which this scene was depicted suggests that it was not primarily surprise that was pleasurable to the viewers but the ridiculed surrogate of royalty and a comic archetype. The humour of this scene is based on the fact that despite Eurystheus's belief that he has set yet another impossible task for Herakles, his cousin does return after all with his mission accomplished. Bergson writes: 'Not infrequently comedy sets before us a character who lays a trap in which he is the first to be caught. The plot of the villain, who is the victim of his own villainy, or the cheat cheated, forms the stock-in-trade of a good many plays' (1921: 2.2). He gives a famous example taken from a French medieval fable: a shrewish woman obliges her husband to perform all the housework, having written every detail of it on a scroll of paper. She falls into a well, but her husband refuses to help her out, saying: 'It is not written on the scroll!' Eurystheus, on behalf of Hera, orders Herakles to perform an impossible task, to bring the boar back alive. When Herakles returns, Eurystheus hides from the very boar he had required Herakles to capture. Herakles remains faithful to the king throughout the whole story, yet the king uses his monarchical power to force the tasks on him. By so doing, the situation becomes ironic because it is to the disadvantage of the king himself. Eurystheus is similar in many ways to Pelus terrified by the wild beasts of Mount Pelion and hiding up a tree.⁹¹

The comedy of these pictures lies in the irony of the situation, as is the case with a number of comic scenes involving gods in the next chapter; but the visual comedy of the scene can be more or less effective, depending on the imagination and the talent of the painter. Sometimes the humour of a situation may be enhanced through surprising though minor changes in the composition of a picture. Some painters depict Eurystheus running into his pithos, or lifting the lid of the pithos and taking a peep from his hiding place at Herakles. Others show Herakles with one foot on the lip of the jar, preparing to tip the boar into the pithos. This position emphasises Herakles' superiority over his

⁹⁰ See D. E. Sutton 1994: 7-16.

⁹¹ Rome, Villa Giulia, 24247 and New York, 46.11.7.

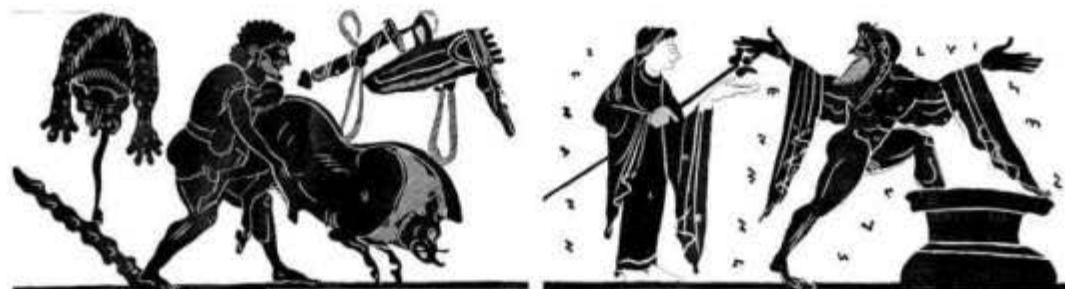


Figure 55. *Herakles bringing the Erymanthian Boar to cowardly King Eurystheus, one foot in his hiding-place.* Amphora, Attic BF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 21965; Leagros Group; 520–500 BC. Scanned drawing after G. Perrot and C. Chipiez (1882) *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Hachette: 10, 210–11, figs. 136–7.

cousin, and reminds one that he should have been the rightful king instead of Eurystheus, a king *manqué*. An amphora in Syracuse (fig. 55)⁹² is described by Luce: 'A variant of this is found on one very remarkable vase ... painted by a man with a delicious sense of humour, which shows on side A, Herakles lifting the boar, and on side B, Eurystheus in alarm getting into the pithos as rapidly as he can' (1924: 313).

Inversion and the Kerkopes Brothers

Another common scene featuring Herakles is the capture of the Kerkopes. It is found especially in sixth century black-figure, but it is also found on Corinthian, Laconian, and Lucanian vases, as well as terracotta pinakes, reliefs, and engraved gems. There are at least ten Athenian black-figure representations of the scene and one in red-figure. The Kerkopes, mischievous dwarfs and twin brothers, were warned by their mother against a *melanpugos* (Hdt. 7.216.1; Diod. Sic. 4.31.7; Eust. *Od.* 19, 247, 1864; Ov. *Met.* 14.88), a 'black buttock' enemy. Herakles, whilst still a slave of Omphale, in order to rid the country of the Kerkopes, carried off the twins on his back to Ephesos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.3). Their heads hanging upside-down from a yoke, they had every opportunity to observe the aptness of the above epithet: Herakles, virile man of the wild was obviously quite hairy.⁹³ Their jests made Herakles laugh and he released them. On a black-figure olpe in Brussels,⁹⁴ Herakles is walking to the right, holding a yoke on his left shoulder

⁹² Amphora, Attic BF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 21965; ABV 375.218, *Para* 163, *Add.* 100; scanned drawing, after G. Perrot and C. Chipiez (1882) *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Hachette: 10, 210–11, figs. 136–7; Mitchell 2004: 7a–b. From Sicily, Gela; Leagros Group; 520–500 BC. See also lekythos fr., Attic BF, Basel, H. Cahn, HC355; (BA 351244), *Para* 164. Leagros Group; 520–500 BC. See oinochoe, Attic BF, Basel market; (BA 351370), *Para* 189.8, 265. Class of Würzburg 351; 500–490 BC. And lekythos, Attic BF, Sydney University, Nicholson Museum, 46.52; (BA 302341), ABV 378.260. Leagros Group; 520–500 BC.

⁹³ See Taillardat 1965: 166, §314.

⁹⁴ Olpe, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R293; (BA 8128); CVA, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2, III.J.A.2, pl. 1.18.a–b. 520–510 BC.

from which the Kerkopes are hanging on either side, their hands, like their feet, bound and attached. The realistic appearance of their hanging hair is notable. The face of one of the twins is turned towards Herakles' back. It is probably he who first realises that the hero has 'black-buttocks'. The Kerkopes were mischievous and must have tried to steal Herakles' weapons, just as satyrs or pygmies had also tried before. According to Philostratos of Lemnos (*Imag.* 2.22) and Ammianus Marcellinus (22.12), the pygmies wanted to avenge their brother Antaios who had been killed by Herakles. They attacked him during his sleep, but Herakles woke up in time and laughed heartily at the sight of the miniature men and captured them all single-handedly. The way the Kerkopes are hung on a yoke resembles the way a hunter would hang game; a further indication of the foolishness of their situation, the ease of their capture, and the immense superiority gap dividing them from their captor. He is not merely a man but a hero, whereas they are dwarfs. The story of the twin Kerkopes is comic in itself. Viewers no doubt laughed because the pictures reminded them of the story and because of the way they were painted. The vase-painters, mixing known schemata, add comedy to such a picture by referring to others.

Aristotle's famous line (*Poet.* 1449a33), 'because what arouses laughter is a mistake and a deformity neither of which cause pain or destruction' has influenced many modern scholars. If laughter must always be sought for in ugliness and therefore ugly pictures, how could we find humour in archaic and classical art? Evidently from the pictures we have seen, and many more that will be discussed, comic pictures are similar to Proteus, the old man of the sea. They can take on different appearances, and the ridicule that they engender is not necessarily a deformity. *Inversion* is a central mechanism in situation comedy. The Kerkopes had been warned of a *melanpugos*, but only after hanging from Herakles' yoke did they understand the warning. There may also be dramatic irony; the viewer exercises its powers of superior knowledge, which invokes feelings of satisfaction, even intellectual superiority. Inversion is not only used in comedy. It is often used in stories that involve the punishment of the wicked. The depictions of Theseus's deeds are not comic. When he slays Prokrustes, he uses the same torture bed to execute him as Prokrustes used on ordinary travellers. Although there is an inversion of an original situation, it does not arouse laughter. Here is blood, pain, and *punishment* of the wrongdoer. The Kerkopes were also sculpted around 520–510 BC on a metope of Temple C at Selinus in Sicily.⁷⁵ Herakles delivering the boar to Eurystheus is found sculpted on a metope from the Heraion in the National museum in Paestum and on a metope from the Temple to Zeus at Olympia. It seems strange that there should be a comic scene on a temple metope; the story was familiar and had become canonical. Like other genres, comedy may be used for different purposes: Aesop's comedy and Socrates' irony, from the Greek *eiron*, are used for didactic purposes. We may learn through irony and *aitia* in the case of Aesop. To ridicule Eurystheus emphasises Herakles' virtue. In sculpture, the story had become an icon of courage and power.

⁷⁵ Metope, Temple C at Selinus; Marconi Clemente, (1994) *Selinunte: Le Metope dell'Heraion*, Modena.

Herakles: A Super-hero or a Super-glutton?

A lekythos in New York (fig. 56)⁹⁶ shows a rare greediness competition between Herakles and a dog. It is an outdoor scene. Herakles is roasting meat on two spits at an altar placed on a square rock. A famished Laconian dog, its ribs clearly visible, is crouching, ready to pounce on its 'prey', Herakles' dinner. Aristophanes, and many comic writers before him, wrote about Herakles' gargantuan appetite. Epicharmus portrays Herakles as a heroic glutton in *Busiris*: 'Firstly, if you saw him eating it would kill you: his throat rumbles, his jaws crack, his molars crackle, his canines screech, he blows through his nostrils and moves his ears' (Kaib. Epicharm. *Busiris* 21).⁹⁷ Although the presence of the altar hints to the city space, Herakles is performing a solitary sacrifice.⁹⁸ The dog is 'wild', as the dogs on an amphora in Basel⁹⁹ where a greater number of dogs implies that the sacrifice was much more important and probably a collective one.

A series of small black-figure vases (fig. 57)¹⁰⁰ show Herakles sacrificing meat on a spit at an altar. The hero is identified by his lion skin and his club usually placed near the altar or behind him. The first interesting detail is that he shoves big chunks of meat on the spit, not the usual guts. Herakles also bypasses essential elements of poliadic sacrifice, such as the *trapeza* or table for the meat. Herakles' sacrifice is one of a super human. This contrast between collective sacrifice and individual sacrifice is found elsewhere: on an amphora in Berlin,¹⁰¹ Herakles, alone, directs a bull to an altar. Holding his club in his right hand, he pushes the bull forwards. If one compares it to the human equivalent on an amphora in Viterbo¹⁰² where ten men are hardly strong enough to sacrifice a bull, the distance between Herakles and simple mortals is suddenly obvious. If this was not enough, in a passage in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.7.7), Herakles, staying in the land of the Dryopes, halts the ploughman Thiodamas, unyokes one of the oxen, and eats it.

⁹⁶ Lekythos, Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.29; (BA 305499), ABV 507.6, 702, Add¹ 126; ABL pl. 32.1d. From Greece, Attica; Sappho Painter; 520–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁹⁷ See also Ath. 10.411a–b; Ar. *Birds* 1581–1694.

⁹⁸ Herakles' gluttony had become so commonplace in Old Comedy that the character Xanthias in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (60) promises the audience something more original than Herakles' overeating. See also Durand and Lissarrague 1982.

⁹⁹ Amphora, Attic BF, Basel, Private collection; *Das Tier in der Antike* 1974: 54, pl. 56, cat. 325a–b. 530–520 BC.

¹⁰⁰ Paris, Louvre, F121. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also cup fr., Attic BF, Athens, Agora Museum F13245; (BA 30917); LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles' 1337. And see olpe, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B473; (BA 305639), ABV 536.37, Add¹ 132; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles' 1340. From Rhodes, Camiros; Painter of Vatican G49; 520–500 BC. See oinochoe, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1919; (BA 305638), ABV 536.36 Add¹ 132; CVA, Deutschland 61, Berlin, Antikensammlung 7, pl. 38.2. Painter of Vatican G49; 520–500 BC. And see olpe, Attic BF, Gotha, Schlossmuseum, Ahv.44; (BA 305650); ABV 537; CVA, Deutschland 24, Gotha 1, pl. 40.5. Painter of Vatican G49; 520–500 BC.

¹⁰¹ Amphora, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1856; (BA 302125), ABV 370.130, Add¹ 98, Para 162; CVA, Berlin, Antikenmuseum 5, pls. 34.1, 35.1–2, 39.3, 55.6; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles' 1333. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Leagros Group; 520–500 BC.

¹⁰² Amphora, BF, Viterbo; (BA 10600); Bérard and Vernant 1984: 54–5, fig. 83; *Classical Antiquity* 12 (1993) fig. 1 at p. 266. Group E; 550–525 BC.



Figure 56. *Herakles grilling meat on an altar, a hopeful famished dog below.* Lekythos, Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.29; Sappho Painter; 520–500 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

He is also known as a heavy drinker.¹⁰³ Herakles and the centaurs fight over wine;¹⁰⁴ and, in Euripides' *Syleus*, Herakles, drunk, is driven to all kinds of excesses (D. F. Sutton 1980: 66); in Euripides' *Alkestis* (756–60), a servant gives a comical account of Herakles'

¹⁰³ On drunken Herakles, see Noël 1982.

¹⁰⁴ Lekythos, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B536; (BA 390578); *ABL* 268.42. Beldam Painter; 490–480 BC. See also neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1480; (BA 320314), *ABV* 288.11, *Add* 75; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, pls. 407.1, 408.1–2, 412.4; *LIMC* VIII, pl. 442, s.v. 'Kentauroi et Kentaurides' 239. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Group of Würzburg 199; 510–500 BC.



Figure 57. *Herakles preparing a huge meat spit*. Cup, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F121; Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

appalling attitude. Herakles carries amphorae on a vase in Harvard,¹⁰⁵ as he usually carries the Kerkopes on a yoke. Two amphorae hang from each side of the yoke. On the other side of the vase, a satyr-peasant wearing a garment from waist down is drawing liquid from a well. Because of the presence of the satyr, one suspects that the well does

¹⁰⁵ Pelike, Attic RF, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, 1925.30.34; (BA 202582), ARV² 285.7; CVA, USA 1, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections, Hoppin Collection 8, pl. 12.3–4. Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

not contain water but wine, as on a pelike in Berlin,¹⁰⁶ at which Herakles has filled his amphorae. The wine is probably intended for his personal consumption. On a column-krater in Berlin,¹⁰⁷ Herakles is running not with one but two amphorae in hand. He runs so fast the top of his lion skin is flapping in his back. Is he running away from something or is in a hurry to find a resting place to drink all his wine? He could be returning from Syleus's house. On a lekythos from the Lucerne market,¹⁰⁸ Herakles is probably at Syleus's home after having destroyed it. A table is smashed and upside-down; there are broken objects lying in the background. Two donkeys escape from the place in a rush. On a vase in Munich,¹⁰⁹ Herakles is probably in Nereus's ruined house, which he has just destroyed in one of his numerous fits of madness. With the help of a long pole, he is reaching for an amphora, which floats among the miscellaneous remnants of the sea god's house. At first Herakles seems to be rescuing some of Nereus's belongings after his fit of madness. In fact, he is trying to retrieve, through sheer gluttony, an amphora 'lost at sea'. Absorbed in his task, he does not notice the woman running at him with a pestle on the other side of the vase. Finally, on a cup in London (fig. 58),¹¹⁰ Herakles and Dionysos are banqueting. A satyr on the right holds a wine jug, but on the left, a satyr is trying to steal a small cup. Dionysos usually holds his kantharos in front of him. Here, he keeps it away from Herakles' grasp. The hero is trying with his right hand to grab Dionysos's sacred object, because, after all, however special to Dionysos, it is just a wine vessel.

2. GODS DEGRADED

'Homer, as far as he could, made men gods and gods men' ([Longinus], *Subl.* 9.8).

Veyne (1983) wonders to what extent the Greeks believed in their own myths. How can one make a sacrifice to Zeus and poke fun at him in literature? In the *Iliad*, Zeus asks Thetis to leave swiftly because Hera is approaching. Zeus seems almost *bourgeois* in his behaviour. Codino writes: 'In a very short space of time, the great Zeus seated alone on the highest peak of Olympus is replaced by the hesitating quiet husband who is afraid of his wife' (1960: 552).

¹⁰⁶ Pelike, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2173; (BA 202589), ARV² 286.18, Add² 209; Bérard and Vernant 1984: 164–5. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

¹⁰⁷ Column-krater, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F4027; (BA 206280), ARV² 551.5, Para 387; LIMCIV, s.v. 'Herakles' 1325. From Italy, Altamura; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹⁰⁸ Lekythos, Attic BF, Lucerne market (A.A.); (BA 361404), Para 247, Add² 126; Lefèvre, E. (1973) 'Monumenta Chiloniense', in *Studien zur Augusteischen Zeit, Kieler Festschrift für Erich Burck zum 70. Geburtstag*, Amsterdam: pl. 9, figs. 18–20. Sappho Painter; 520–500 BC.

¹⁰⁹ Pelike, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 8762; (BA 275132), ARV² 1638.2bis, Add² 201; LIMCVI, pl. 490, s.v. 'Nereides' 267. Myson; 510–470 BC. See also amphora (B), Attic BF, Paris market; Roudillon, 2: sale: 24/11/78 Hotel Drouot; Herakles is reclining on a *klinē*. His club is set in the background, and Athena is gesturing as if to urge him to get on with his heroic labours.

¹¹⁰ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E66; (BA 209980), ARV² 808.2, Add² 143, Add² 291; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: I, 244, pl. 47.1; ARFHI, fig. 376. From Italy, Nola; Clinia Painter; 470–460 BC.



Figure 58. *Dionysos keeping his drinking vessel away from Herakles*, Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E66; Clinia Painter; 470–460 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: I, 244, pl. 47.1.

Vincenz Brinkman's recent work on colour in ancient Greek sculpture¹¹¹ has changed most scholars' perceptions of ancient sculpture. Some of his reconstructions based on thermoluminescence and UV lights bring out the 'ghosts' of ancient painted decoration. The Greeks had incredibly colourful sculpture, painted to the likeness of humans. It has changed my own conception of Greek religion in a number of ways. To see a colourful Athena, Apollo, Zeus, and many more brings these (often) cult statues to life. Not only does it make them closer to human likeness but more approachable than the pasty white gods that surround us since the Renaissance.

To transform a divine couple into a pair of humans where a husband retreats from his scowling wife is comical. This is not done in front of a temple during a sacrifice, nor is it done during a festival, except perhaps for some moments in Eleusinian cults, such as Baubo's ([Hom.] *Hymn Dem.* 195) and the *Phallophoria* or during the *Dionysia*.¹¹² The evidence gathered from vase-paintings amounts only to what has survived; nonetheless,

¹¹¹ Brinkman, V. and Wünsche, R. (eds.) (2004) *Bunte Götter. Die Farbigkeit Antiker Skulptur. Eine Ausstellung der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München in Zusammenarbeit mit der NY Carlsberg Glyptothek Kopenhagen und den Vatikanischen Museen, Rom*, Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. See, for example, his reconstruction of Athena on the west pediment of the temple of Aphaia on Argina, pp. 98–101, and accompanying illustrations.

¹¹² On the Eleusinian cult, see Godel 1960; Foley 1985; 1994; and O'Higgins 2003.

in comparison to literature, Zeus and Hera do not seem to lend themselves much to comedy.¹¹³ Here are discussed Athena, Hermes, Iris, Hephaistos, and some other scenes where the identity of the mocked god is problematic.

Athena and Pseudo Panathenaic Amphorae

Nature of the Objects and their Iconography

Much has been written about Prize Panathenaic amphorae over the last century.¹¹⁴ They have a 'broad body tapering sharply downward, handles cylindrical in section' (Richter and Milne 1935: 4, figs. 24-5). They usually have a short neck and an echinus-shaped foot, but both can be broader. They are decorated in the black-figure technique long after it had declined and show, canonically, Athena *promachos* ('first in battle' striding fully armed) on one side and games on the other. Most scholars consider that they appear around 560 BC.¹¹⁵ These amphorae were still produced up until the second century BC. Amphorae of this type were awarded to winners at the Greater Panathenaic Games (IG II.2, 2311-17; Pind. *Nem.* 10.35ff; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60), held in Athens every four years in honour of the city's patron goddess, Athena.

Most 'true' Prize Panathenaic amphorae bear the inscription '(one of the prizes) from the games at Athens' (ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΩΝ).¹¹⁶ On one side of a Prize Panathenaic amphora in London,¹¹⁷ Athena *promachos* faces left between two Doric columns surmounted by cocks (Callisen 1939: 169). Her head, waist, and feet are shown in profile, while her shoulders are frontal. She holds her shield with her right hand and raises a spear above her head with the other. The high crest of her helmet overlaps the tongue frieze. She wears a long sleeveless *chiton*, girdled at the waist, over which hangs her *aegis* with inner and outer fringes of snakes. On the other side of the amphora, four nude bearded athletes, a long-jump athlete, a discus thrower, and two acontists compete in the pentathlon. We know there were a great number of cock fights, and some may have

¹¹³ See, however, the excellent article by Anderson, C. (2008) "Athena's Big Finger. An Unnoticed Sexual Joke in Aristophanes' *Knights*". *CP* 103: 175-81; see also Cratinus's *Dionysalexandros*.

¹¹⁴ See Gardiner 1912; Beazley 1943: 449; Shapiro 1989, 1992: 53-75; Boardman 1991: 167-70; Kotsidu 1991: 294; and Bentz 1998. See also on the *Promachos* type: Niemeyer, H. G. (1960) *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der Bewaffneten Athena in Archaischer Zeit*. Waldassen; Niemeyer, H. G. (1964) "Attische Bronzestuetuetten der spatarchaischen und fruehklassischen Zeit". *AntP* III. Berlin. 102-10; Kenner, H. (1976-7) "Athena und die Götterwelt der Austria Romana". *OJh* 51: 110-26; Simon, E. (1969) *Die Götter der Griechen*. Munich: 185-93; Miller, S. G. (1982) "A Miniature Athena *Promachos*". *Hesperia Supplements* 20, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography*. Presented to Homer A. Thompson, 93-9.

¹¹⁵ This date is deduced from the date of the first Panathenaia. The Panathenaia may have been instituted in 566/5 BC. (Eus. *Chron. Ol.* 53.3; Markellinos, *Vit. Thuc.* 3), or in 561/0 BC. (Schol. Ael. Arist. *Panathen.* 13.189.4-5).

¹¹⁶ For example, prize Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, XVI79; (BA 301688), ABV 322.2, 694, *Para* 142, *Add* 87; ABFH, fig. 301.1-2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Euphiletos Painter; 540-530 BC.

¹¹⁷ Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B134; (BA 301687), ABV 322.1, 666, 694, *Para* 142, *Add* 87; Bentz 1998: pls. 16-17.6059; Decker 1993: 94, fig. 38. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Euphiletos Painter; 540-530 BC.

been official (D. A. Thompson 1895: 20–6), as on a red-figure oinochoe in the Vatican.¹¹⁸ The cock might have been a symbol of victory, based on its traditional aggressivity.¹¹⁹ On a smutty red-figure pelike in Tarquinia (fig. 59),¹²⁰ a prostitute's aroused client is lifting her clothes and inspecting her before having sexual intercourse. All this is occurring in the presence of a cock sitting on a stand in the background. The cock is also one of the gifts *erastai* make to *eromenoi* on vases. The least that may be said with any certainty is that the cock is linked to male violence or to virility. Cocks' aggressivity fits well in the agonistic ambiance of the Panathenaic Games. In the second century, cocks were still thought to be symbols of bellicosity, but the association between the cock and Athena was apparently forgotten. Pausanias (6.26.3) writes about the statue of Athena at Elis: 'The cock is perched on her helmet, because cocks are prone to fight. But perhaps the bird was considered to be sacred for Athena Ergane'.

It is difficult to identify the exact nature of Athena on Prize Panathenaic amphorae: is she a divine epiphany, a statue, or a traditional motif? The birth of Athena, often shown in black-figure,¹²¹ where usually a tiny Athena *promachos* breaks out of Zeus's head, is clearly a theophany of the goddess. Similarly, in *Gigantomachies*, Athena *promachos* is shown striding towards the right while fighting the giants. The representation of the goddess as a *promachos* type could have derived from a statue, which may have stood on the Akropolis (perhaps a *xoanon* replaced in the fifth century by a bronze statue of Athena *promachos*?). A statue is often identified as a motionless figure set on a base. The iconography of Cassandra or Helen at the Palladion shows the young women seeking protection under the shield of a statue of the Athena *promachos* type (fig. 41).¹²² In red-figure, Athena *promachos* is often depicted in an 'archaic' fashion and on a base. Athena *promachos* is shown in a cult scene on a black-figure belly amphora in Berlin.¹²³ Musicians, a sacrificial cow, a bearded man, two youths, and a priestess are before an altar, and, at the far side of the altar, a statue of Athena *promachos* stands facing its worshippers. The stiff attitude of the *promachos* type also suggests this, but the statue has no base. On a black-figure hydria in Munich¹²⁴ attributed to the Eucharides Painter, a statue of Athena *promachos* is set on a podium between two citizens and a dog eating a bone. The Eucharides Painter, who was most active in the 490s, used both the red- and the black-figure techniques, the latter mainly for Prize Panathenaic amphorae (Beazley 1956: 395–6). He knew, therefore, how

¹¹⁸ Chous, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16522; (BA 6173); Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 170.3, 410–390 BC.

¹¹⁹ See also Csapo, E. (1993) 'Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight'. *Phoenix* 47: 1–28, 115–24.

¹²⁰ Pelike, Attic RF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 2989; (BA 202076), ARV² 224.7, Add² 198; CVA, Italia 25, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, pl. 12.2–3. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹²¹ Paris, Louvre, CA616; Lip cup, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B424; (BA 301068), ABV 169.3, *Para* 70, Add² 48; CVA, London, British Museum 2, IIIHe.5, pl. 13.2a–b; ABFH, fig. 123. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Phrynos Potter (by signature); 570–560 BC.

¹²² Naples, H2422.

¹²³ Amphora, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1686; (BA 320383), ABV 296.4, *Para* 128, Add² 77; Shapiro 1989: pl. 9c–d. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Berlin 1686; 550–530 BC.

¹²⁴ Hydria, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1727; (BA 303002), ABV 397.33; Shapiro 1989: pl. 8. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC.



Figure 59. *Man looking under a prostitute's dress*. Pelike, Attic RF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 2989; Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

to differentiate a statue of Athena *promachos*¹²⁵ from a 'symbol' of a feisty Athena, under whose protection and in honour of whom the Panathenaic Games were performed. As the Athena *promachos* type was a familiar motif in sixth- and fifth-century vase-painting in a variety of scenes, in a like manner, the 'Panathenaic model' (Athena *promachos*, cocks on Doric columns, games on the reverse side) became a decorative pattern.

¹²⁵ Hydria, Munich, 1727.

Corrupted Iconography and Comic Iconography

Many vases resemble Prize Panathenaic amphorae. They are not as large, lack the inscription, and are often decorated in red-figure. Many hydriai, amphorae, and pelikai depict events such as foot-races, horse-races, chariot-races, and boxing. During the last quarter of the sixth century, events such as the discus, javelin, jumping, foot-race, and wrestling appear. These vases have been named pseudo-Panathenaic (Böhr 1982: 18, fn. 112). On a black-figure amphora of Panathenaic shape in London,¹²⁶ Athena *promachos* is striding left between Hermes and a draped man who replace the expected columns on either side. There are hardly any folds in Athena's garment in comparison to the Panathenaic Prize amphora in London,¹²⁷ which emphasises her lack of movement, her statuesque 'stiffness'. Hermes seems almost to have descended onto the Akropolis to visit Athena's statue. Most of the usual elements of a Prize Panathenaic amphora are missing. There is no inscription, no columns surmounted by cocks, and Hermes' presence is most unexpected but not necessarily amusing in this scene. Even if the use of substitution and travesty are usual humorous devices, why should not Hermes Enagonios, patron of athletes, be found in a 'Panathenaic' context, as on an amphora in Oxford?¹²⁸

Humorous iconography is often a corrupted iconography with an extra twist, the deliberate intent to mock something. On a black-figure hydria in Fiesole,¹²⁹ Athena stands between two Doric columns surmounted by cocks. Near Athena is a deer. Its presence among divine figures is not uncommon in vase-painting, especially with Apollo: it is often substituted for his sister, Artemis.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the presence of a deer is surprising in a pseudo-Panathenaic scene, especially as it is looking up at the column, intrigued by the cock and possibly sniffing the bird. This brings the decorative cock to life, as well as Athena. They are comically transposed from their decorative function to a narrative one.¹³¹ On a red-figure amphora in Boston¹³² attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter, Athena stands between two columns surmounted by cocks. Prize Panathenaic amphorae were decorated in black-figure, not red-figure. The columns are Ionic without a base, and Athena is not a *Promachos* type. She does have a shield, a lance, and

¹²⁶ Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B144; (BA 301539), ABV 307.59, Add¹ 82; ABFH, fig. 145.1-2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Swing Painter; 550-530 BC.

¹²⁷ London, B134.

¹²⁸ Pseudo Panathenaic prize amphora, Attic BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.117; (BA 301540), ABV 307.60, Para 113, Add¹ 82; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, pl. 27.14a. Swing Painter; 550-530 BC.

¹²⁹ Hydria, Attic BF, Fiesole, Costantini, A.; (BA 6806); CVA, Italia 57, Fiesole, Collezione Costantini 1, pl. 26.1-3. Eucharides Painter; 500-470 BC.

¹³⁰ Hydria, Attic RF, Basel market; MuM 1956, Auction sale 16, p. 33, no. 129.

¹³¹ See a few more pseudo-panathenaic amphorae with substitutions with Herakles, Hermes, or Dionysos: amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B198; (BA 320257), ABV 283.12, Add¹ 74; CVA, London, British Museum 3, III. He. 8, pl. 39.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Group of Toronto 305; 540-520 BC. Amphora, Attic BF, New Orleans (LA), Isaac Delgado Mus of Art, 16.38 (2033); ABV 315.3, Add¹ 85; Williams, D. (1983) "Herakles, Peisistratos and the Alcmeonids", in *Image et Céramique Grecque, Actes du Colloque de Rouen*, 25-26/11 1982 (Rouen 1983) 131-40, fig. 2. Bucci Painter; 540-520 BC. Amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B190; (BA 11087); CVA, London, BM 3, III. He.9, pl. 44.4a-b. From Italy, Ruvo; 550-530 BC. Neck-amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B260; (BA 7848); CVA, London, BM 4, III. He.9, pl. 654.1a-c. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; 570-550 BC.

¹³² Panathenaic amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 95.19; (BA 202063), ARV² 220.5, 1607, Add¹ 98, Add² 198; ARFH I, fig. 162. Nikoxenos Painter; 525-490 BC.

a helmet with a high crest, but does not stride, holds her *hoplon* and lance in her left hand, and bears her helmet on her right extended arm. Athena is gently mocked in this picture: the way she holds her helmet reminds the viewer of *komasts* toying with cups and skyphoi.¹³³ There are few more examples of this specific comical corruption,¹³⁴ and others with a substitution of Athena with Hermes¹³⁵ and of the cocks with Athena's bird, the owl.¹³⁶

Why did potters and painters make and decorate pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae? Webster (1972: 64) suggests that many small imitations of the Prize Panathenaic amphorae were made as souvenirs to be sold during the festival (Richter and Milne 1935: fig. 27). Shapiro (1989: 33) thinks they commemorate individual victories in the Games. These vases do not attempt to copy faithfully the Prize Panathenaic amphorae – such unauthorized imitations may well have been prohibited, and the vase shape and Athena *promachos* were surely enough to make the reference to the Panathenaia unmistakable. He also suggests that pseudo-Panathenaics may have been models submitted by workshops hoping to receive contracts from the state.¹³⁷ It is also likely that painters parodied canonical pictures and series from time to time, and that Athena, patron-goddess of artisans, could withstand the occasional jest of her facetious workers.

Athena and the Owl: A Special Relationship

The owl is Athena's totemic animal. It is shown in a variety of materials but most commonly on Athenian coinage. So, to find, as on a mug in Paris (fig. 60),¹³⁸ an owl standing in for Athena is humorous: the owl is depicted in profile, but its head is turned towards the viewer. It is wearing a helmet and has two tiny arms, holding in one hand Athena's large shield and in the other the goddess's lance. A similar skyphos in Copenhagen¹³⁹ shows a large owl between plants, as on many other skyphoi, where the figure of the owl takes over the entire height of the vase's body. It could be a theophany of Athena, as an owl is shown in an *anodos* of Athena on a lekythos in Basel,¹⁴⁰ but in none of these scenes does the owl have human arms, nor a helmet! There are also a number of unexplained scenes

¹³³ For example, (fig. 99), cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G73; (BA 200396); ARV² 49.186, 170, 1630; CVA, France 17, Musée du Louvre 10, 21.2–6. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Manner of Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹³⁴ Amphora, Attic RF, Baltimore, John Hopkins University; CVA, USA 6, Baltimore 2, pl. 24. 1a–b.

¹³⁵ Amphora, Attic RF, Basel market; ARV² 221.8bis, 1636; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermès' 802.

¹³⁶ Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, Athens, American School of Classical Studies, P24661; (BA 12655); *Hesperia* 25 (1956) pl. 21a. From Greece, Athens agora; 520–490 BC. See also Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1701; (BA 44004); RA (1993) 247, fig. 11. 570–560 BC. And Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, Liverpool, Public Museums, 1977.144.12; (BA 46893); Durand, J.-L. (1986) *Sacrifice et Labour en Grèce Ancienne*: Paris: fig. 15. 530–520 BC. See also Panathenaic amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B138; (BA 13260); BCH 114 (1990) 339, fig. 1.

¹³⁷ See also Tiverios 1974.

¹³⁸ Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2192; (BA 213371), ARV² 983.14, Add² 311; Bérard and Vernant 1984: fig. 60. 450–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹³⁹ Skyphos, Attic RF, Copenhagen. Thorvaldsen Museum, 7612; CVA, Denmark 2–4, Copenhagen 2–4, pl. 159.4. From Rhodes; 450–440 BC.

¹⁴⁰ Lekythos, Attic BF, Basel market; *Auktion* 26, pl. 40, no. 119.



Figure 60. An owl dressed up for war in the guise of Athena. Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2192; 450–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

where the depiction of Athena seems humorous, but the evidence is too flimsy to take a firm stand. For example, an Athena on a neck-amphora in London¹⁴² shows Athena sitting on her *aegis*, which she usually keeps on her chest as a protection, in mid-air, her lance thrust downwards in the ground. She is leaning her chin on her fist, as the young girl next to her. She seems to be scowling.

Hermes the Trickster: Gods Made Children: The Benevolent Laugh

Minor gods such as Hermes and Iris, the divine messengers, are easy to parody; their divine function brings them closer to humanity. Although ‘Hermes Psychopompos’ also leads the souls of the deceased to the Underworld, as on numerous representations on white lekythoi, generally, the function of messenger duly evokes a minor status in comparison to the greater gods of the Pantheon. Hermes teaches youths to spin a top on at least two vases,¹⁴³ and we have seen him pursuing and comically bringing back poor Paris to judge the three great goddesses (fig. 39).¹⁴⁴ Hermes is mocked in several Aesopic fables and in two in particular: ‘Hermes and the Sculptor’, and ‘Tiresias and Hermes’ (Perry 1952: Fab. 88, 89; Chambry 1985: Fab. 108, 110). In the first, Hermes, in disguise,

¹⁴² Neck-amphora, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E316; (BA 212477), ARV² 857.6, *Para* 425, *Add* 146, *Add*² 298; ARFH II, fig. 55; CVA London, British Museum 5, III.1c.7, pl. 58.1a–b. Trophy Painter; 460–450 BC.

¹⁴³ Lekythos, Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, S10814; (BA 4088), ARV² 463.5; CVA, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologische Institut der Universität 5, pl. 41.3–8; Watzinger 1924: pl. 25. Painter of London E342; 460–450 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Baltimore, John Hopkins University, G3730; (BA 205298), ARV² 445.251, *Add* 118, *Add*² 241; (Beck 1975: pl. 56.288). From Italy, Chiusi; Douris; 500–460 BC.

¹⁴⁴ Neck-amphora fr., Attic BF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 13440; (BA 300802), ABV 86.13, *Para* 32; LIMC VIII, pl. 106, s.v. ‘Paridis iudicium’; CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, pl. 315.1a–c. Painter of London B76; 560–540 BC. Lille, 763, Paris, Louvre, CA616.



Figure 61. *Hermes pretending to be a normal infant after having bid Apollo's bulls in a cave.* Hydria, Caeretan BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E702; 550–530 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is inquiring about the price of a statue of himself. The sculptor offers him the Hermes statue at a discount price if he buys two expensive ones. In the second, Hermes is made fun of because he stole blind Tiresias's cattle. Hermes, like Hephaistos, is a comic character in Homer too. The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* is quite humorous in comparison to the other hymns.

It is surprising to see adult tasks performed at such an early age by some divine children.¹⁴⁴ Hermes the thief acts as a divine child but in an ungodly manner. The story of Apollo's cattle stolen by Hermes is found not only in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (227–92) but also in Sophocles' *Ichneutai*, where hound-like satyrs are on the scent of the stolen cattle. On a neck-amphora in New York,¹⁴⁵ Hermes, wearing his *petasos* and winged sandals, is represented as an adult leading two great oxen to a cave. The painter probably imagined that this accomplishment required an adult's strength. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, however, the comedy of this situation lies in Hermes being a child.

On a Caeretan hydria in Paris (fig. 61),¹⁴⁶ the composition is different: on the left, the oxen are gathered in a cave. They are partly visible and a rabbit is dashing above the cave. Hermes has already hidden the oxen in a cave. On the right, the child pretends to sleep in his cradle on wheels, whilst Maia on the left and Apollo and Zeus on the right,

¹⁴⁴ For divine children, see Motte 1996.

¹⁴⁵ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, GR529; (BA 306017), ARV² 602.28, Add² 141; CVA, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, pl. 46.9–12; ABFH, fig. 282. Red-Line Painter; 510–490 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E815; (BA 201043), ARV² 125.15, Add² 87, Add² 125.15, 128, 176; LIMC V, pl. 221, s.v. 'Hermes' 248. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC.

¹⁴⁶ Hydria, Caeretan BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, E702; (BA 1007817); LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes' 241; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 9, III.FA.9, III.FA.10, pls. 8.3–4, 10.1–7. 550–530 BC. Drawing AGM.

suspicious about the child, are making great gestures, wondering where the oxen are. The picture is comic because of the juxtaposition of the two scenes, which can only be understood together. The young age of the child god is ostensibly incompatible with such a deed and with his hypocrisy, at such an early age, in pretending to sleep in his *liknon* while the oxen are right there in a cave.

On a cup attributed to the Brygos Painter,¹⁴⁷ Hermes is laying in his cradle amongst the oxen. Maia on the left is gesticulating. Hermes wears an adult's *petasos*. This incongruous element enables the viewer to recognise Hermes and simultaneously emphasizes his young age. Hermes arouses a 'benevolent smile', marvelling at his cunning. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (281–2), Apollo laughs with kindness: *apalon gelasas*, what Stanford (1958: 301) has called 'the patronizing laugh of an adult towards a naughty child'. Other divine children perform miraculous actions in vase-painting. Although Apollo is usually represented as an adult when killing Python, in vase-painting and in sculpture, on two lekythoi,¹⁴⁸ he is depicted as a child, in Leto's arms, preparing to shoot an arrow at the snake. Still, these representations, unlike Hermes', display no comic elements to support a satirical reading of the god's action. Apollo is too serious a god to be parodied; Praxiteles' *Apollo Sauroktonos* is not comic even though the python has become a lizard. Here, even though Apollo is a child, he remains in every sense a god. Dionysos appears in a theophany as a bearded child on a krater in Basel.¹⁴⁹ The god is sitting atop a high altar while six men in clothing with unusual motifs dance. Is it a parody of the dithyrambos?

Poking Fun at Poliadic Cult In the tondo of a cup in Vienna (fig. 62),¹⁵⁰ Hermes leads what appears to be a pig to an altar. It is in fact a dog disguised as a pig. The feet are clearly those of a dog. A genuine sacrifice is depicted on another cup attributed to the same painter, the Epidromos Painter. On this cup in Paris (fig. 63),¹⁵¹ two youths are sacrificing a pig at an altar beside a tree. While one of them is holding the animal, the other wields a *machaira*. Pigs were sacrificed to Demeter. The scene on the Vienna cup could well be a parody of a sacrifice to Demeter. Painters must have thought that Hermes had remained in many ways the facetious god he was as a child.

Hermaic Cult Hermaic pillars, or herms, were usually rectangular pillars with the head of the god Hermes and an erect phallus. They were found and venerated at cross-roads, in domestic gardens, at the *palestra*, and a number of other places. The herms

¹⁴⁷ Vatican City, 16582.

¹⁴⁸ Lekythos, Attic BF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 306; (BA 330984), *ABV* 572.7; *Para* 294, *Add* 137; *LIMC* II, pl. 269, s.v. 'Apollo' 993. From Greece, Athens; Beldam Painter; 490–480 BC. And see lekythos, Attic RE, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2212; (BA 208984), *ARV* 730.8, *Add* 283; *LIMC* II, s.v. 'Apollo' 988. From Greece, Attica; Leto Painter; 470–450 BC.

¹⁴⁹ Column-krater, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS415; (BA 260); CVA, Switzerland 7, Basel, pl. 7.3–4. Siren Painter; 460–450 BC.

¹⁵⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3691; (BA 200986), *ARV* 118.8, 1577, 1627, *Add* 86, *Add* 174; CVA, Österreich 1, Wien Kunsthistorische Museum 1, pl. 2.6; *LIMC* V, pl. 266, s.v. 'Hermes' 820. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Epidromos Painter; 500–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁵¹ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G112; (BA 200985), *ARV* 117.17, 1577, 1627, *Add* 86, *Add* 174; van Straten (1993: fig. 110; photograph after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 105. Epidromos Painter; 500–480 BC.



Figure 62. *Hermes bringing a dog disguised as pig to a sacrificial altar.* Cup, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3691; Epidromos Painter; 500–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

are found well into the second century AD. A red-figure pelike in Berlin,¹¹⁴ attributed to the Pan Painter, shows a very unusual herm. It has an extended phallos, which is longer than half the length of its whole body. A large bird is sitting on the phallos. The scene is humorous because the herm's function as a protective crossroad cult statue is forgotten. Only its most striking feature is emphasised – its erection. Often a symbol of virility for men and fertility for women, it has become a perch for a bird. It could be a seagull. According to Siebert (*LIMC* V 286), the images of wind and seagulls cleaving through the waves evoke the god Hermes (*Hom. Od.* 5.43–54). Birds must have perched on

¹¹⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2172; (BA 206706), ARV² 581.4, *Add* 128, *Add* 263; ARFH I, fig. 330; Mitchell 2004: fig. 6. From Italy, Etruria; Perseus Painter; 490–460 BC. See also the god Pan pursuing a shepherd with a very potent herm in the background of an Attic red-figure bell-krater in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.185; (BA 206276), ARV² 550.1, 1659, *Add* 125, *Add* 256, *Pan* 386, 387; (Boardman 1997: 29, fig. 33); *LIMC* VIII, pl. 680, 'Priapos' 6. From Italy, Cumae; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.



Figure 63. *Two men sacrificing a pig on an altar*. Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G112; Epidromos Painter; 500–480 BC. Scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 105.

herms, but the phallos was not as long, and birds did not ‘kiss’ herms as our bird seems to be doing on the vase. It could also be a parody of supplication: men and women supplicated herms by touching its chin or beard.¹³³ Three other vases, of which two were attributed to the Pan Painter,¹³⁴ show herms in an unusual light. The first one, a red-figure pelike in Berlin, shows two herms. The left one is perfectly frontal. The body of the right one is frontal but not its face, which is slightly turned towards the first one. The meaning is unravelled by another fragmentary pelike,¹³⁵ which shows three herms facing each

¹³³ Column-krater, Attic RF, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 206; (BA 206078), ARV² 537.12, *Add* 125, *Add*² 255, *Para* 384; CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 1, III.I.C., III.I.C.12, pl. 27.1–3; LIMC V, pl. 214, s.v. ‘Hermes’ 153. From Italy, Bologna; Boreas Painter; 490–470 BC. On the gesture of supplication, see Neuman 1963: 67–72.

¹³⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.62; (BA 275276), ARV² 1659.91bis, *Add*²; Ruckert, B. (1998) *Die Herme im Öffentlichen und Privaten Leben der Griechen*. Regensburg: fig. 11. Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹³⁵ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10793; (BA 206335), ARV² 555.92; *Add* 126; *Para* 386; *Add*² 258; LIMC V, pl. 213, s.v. ‘Hermes’ 141. Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.



Figure 64. *Iris the divine messenger dropping her caduceus in her sexual pursuit.* Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

other, evidently in a fantastical conversation. Another vase-painting attributed to the Pan Painter¹¹⁶ shows Hermes with his *caduceus* and a writing board, pulling a few old men dressed up as dithyrambic chorus-men towards Dionysos holding a *kantharos*. The old men resist the guiding-god Hermes. Pentheus, in Euripides' *Bacchantes*, makes fun of Tiresias and Kadmos dressed up to go dancing like young men. Do the old chorus men feel too old to perform their duty?

Lustful and Greedy Iris

On a red-figure neck-amphora in Naples (fig. 64),¹¹⁷ a winged female figure wearing a tiara is pursuing a young man. He is a hunter, wearing the *petasos*, a *chlamys*, and

¹¹⁶ Hydria, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 627; (BA 206338), ARV² 555.95, Para 387, 388, Add 387, 388, Add² 258; LIMC V 361, no. 892. Pan Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹¹⁷ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte; (BA 213747), ARV² 1058.117, Add 158, Add² 323; Kaempf-Dimitriadou, (1979) *Die Liebe der Götter in der Attische Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Suppl. AntK: pl. 8.4, no. 113. Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 65. *Iris pursuing a youth*. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 95.28; Painter of Acropolis 356; 450–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

holding hunting lances. The winged female has dropped her *kerykeion*. The picture is unusual in many respects. Winged females pursuing young hunters are usually identified as Eos pursuing the youth Kephalos, as on a Nolan neck-amphora in Leiden.¹⁵⁸ On a cup in Boston,¹⁵⁹ a search party is in progress on the outside of the cup, whilst in its tondo (fig. 65), Eos is pursuing young Kephalos.

¹⁵⁸ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC78; (BA 206997), ARV² 605.58, 1702, Add 130, Add² 267; CVA, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 3, pls. 130.1–4, 131.3–4, 132.4–7. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Niobid Painter; 460–440 BC.

¹⁵⁹ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 95.28; (BA 210097), ARV² 816.1, 1671; ARFHI, fig. 379.1–2. From Greece, Athens Acropolis; Painter of Acropolis 356; 450–430 BC.

On our neck-amphora (fig. 64),¹⁶⁰ however, the *kerykeion* indicates clearly that the winged female must be Iris. Commenting on a column-krater in Syracuse,¹⁶¹ which shows a winged goddess holding a *kerykeion* and pursuing a young man bearing a lyre, Beazley writes: 'Nike (or Iris) pursuing a boy who holds a lyre (Eos and Tithonos, one would have said, but the goddess has a *caduceus*)' (1963a: 575.15). Eos is usually running; the figure on the Naples amphora is flying, as Nike does in many representations. Eos and Iris are rarely shown flying although they are winged. The three goddesses are iconographically closely related: some vases even show Iris performing a libation that is usually accomplished by Nike.¹⁶² Iris is the female counterpart to Hermes as the divine messenger. There are many representations of winged female figures in vase-painting: the only way to identify Iris is if the winged female carries a *kerykeion*, symbol of messengers. She is usually winged, stands motionless or runs but not after a young man. The Naples Iris's feet are above the ground as if in an imaginary flight. It is more common to see Iris pursued than pursuing. Depictions of Iris pursued by satyrs are well known.¹⁶³ The young hunter is running away, casting an eye behind to see how close Iris is. She is not trying to deliver a message but trying to get hold of the young man. In this scene, the key is the *kerykeion*. In many scenes, objects such as drinking horns are not 'real objects', only signs of the presence of wine. But in depictions of Iris, the *kerykeion* is never dropped, she consistently holds on to it tightly,¹⁶⁴ yet in this picture, she must have dropped it in her flight! There is an obvious parallel to this representation: Menelaus dropping his sword and running towards Helen, under the influence of Aphrodite, the goddess of love.¹⁶⁵ In this abundant series, Menelaus drops his sword because it has become useless in so far as lust has taken over his desire for revenge and the recovery of his honour. Aristophanes (*Lys.* 155-6) gives a comical account of Menelaus's quest. In her erotic pursuit, Iris drops her *kerykeion*. The goddess is made more human and thus degraded. It is the exaggeration of lust that is amusing. Two unusual details indicate exaggeration: the fact that she is flying with desire and the fact that she drops her *kerykeion* in her haste. The other side shows a youth with sword pursuing a woman. It is no coincidence that this precise scene should be depicted, as it recalls Menelaus's episode of the 'fallen sword'. Iris is mocked elsewhere for her failed

¹⁶⁰ Neck-amphora, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

¹⁶¹ Column-krater, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 53237; (BA 206615), ARV² 575.15, Add² 262; LIMC III, pl. 574, s.v. 'Eos' 186. From Sicily, Megara Hyblaea; Agrigento Painter; 480-460 BC.

¹⁶² Lekythos, Attic RF (WG), Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.249; (BA 208151), ARV² 686.193, Para 406; CVA, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum 7, pls. 382.1-4, 386.3-4. Bowdoin Painter; 460-450 BC.

¹⁶³ Cup, Attic RF, Basel market; (BA 12996); Cahn, H. E. (1995) *Kylikes, Trinkgefäße der Griechischen Welt*, H.A.C. Basel, Katalog 7: no. 19. Ancona Painter; 460-440 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlung, 2591; (BA 201550); ARV² 170.1, 1564-4; Brommer 1959: 26, no. 32, fig. 18. Scheutler Painter; 500-490 BC. And (fig. 66) cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E65; (BA 203912), ARV² 370.13, 598, 1649, Add² 111, Add² 224, Para 365, 367; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: 47.4-3; CVA, London, British Museum 9, pls. 62.a-b, 63.a-b, 64.a-c. From Italy, Capua; Beygos Painter; 480-470 BC. And cup-skyphos, Attic RF, Berlin market (Once); (BA 211713), ARV² 888.150; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, pl. 33.1-3; Brommer 1959: 26, fig. 18. From Italy, Nola; Penthesilea Painter; 460-440 BC.

¹⁶⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 203; (BA 201881), ARV² 202.73, Add² 93, Add² 192; LIMC V, pl. 485, s.v. 'Iris' 119; CVA, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, pl. 15.1.3. From Italy, Nola; Berlin Painter; 500-480 BC.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, an oinochoe already discussed, Vatican City, 16535.



Figure 66. *Satyrs attacking Iris at an altar*. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E65; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: 47.4.3.

attempt in defending an oxtail offering. On a cup in Boston,¹⁶⁶ she descends on an altar, attracted by an oxtail offering, but she is ambushed by satyrs; on a cup from the Basel market,¹⁶⁷ she holds her *kerykeion* in one hand and an oxtail in the other. Thus occupied, she is defenceless and is easily grabbed by a satyr. On a red-figure skyphos in Berlin,¹⁶⁸ she holds an oxtail and is pursued by satyrs. She is an easy prey for satyrs in heat. On a cup in London (fig. 66),¹⁶⁹ she is held by two satyrs who have just ambushed her using oxtail as bait. On a black-figure hydria,¹⁷⁰ Iris (?) is sitting on a stool, throwing oxtails at dogs.

Another Tricked Trickster: The Return of Drunk Hephaistos to Olympus (Tables 6A–B, 13)

The most frequently depicted example of mythological drunkenness is that of Hephaistos returning to the Olympus. The outlines of the myth are known to us from Pausanias (1.20.3 trans. Jones):

Hephaistos, when he was born, was thrown down by Hera. In revenge he sent as a gift a golden chair with invisible fetters. When Hera sat down she was held fast, and

¹⁶⁶ Boston, Res.08.30.a.

¹⁶⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Basel market; (BA 12996).

¹⁶⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlung, 2591; (BA 201550); ARV² 170.1, 1564.4; Brommer 1959: 26, no. 32, fig. 18. Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC.

¹⁶⁹ London, E65.

¹⁷⁰ Hydria, Attic BF, London market; Sotheby's, 11.7–88, lot 111.

Hephaistos refused to listen to any other of the gods save Dionysos – in him he reposed the fullest trust – and after making him drunk Dionysos brought him to heaven.

The humour in the story arises from the degradation of Hephaistos the god to Hephaistos the drunkard. Gods who act like humans are amusing: the gods' unquenchable laughter show precisely their unquenchable humanity.¹⁷¹ But the Olympian gods nevertheless keep their status as superior beings, well above any of humanity. The case of Hephaistos is somewhat different. Primarily because of his ugliness and his lameness, he stands out as an amusing character amongst the gods, as the lame sailor Thersites stands out like a sore thumb among Greek heroes at Troy.

In vase-painting, two scenes depict parts of this episode: Hephaistos returning drunk with Dionysos, and Hephaistos standing in front of Hera. Because of its comical nature, the first series will interest us. Brommer (1937: 199) catalogued at least sixty-one representations of this scene in vase-painting.¹⁷² It is found on a range of vases since the seventh century (Corinthian ware) until the late fifth century (Athenian ware). Hephaistos is usually sitting on a donkey, sometimes facing backwards, amongst satyrs and maenads, as, for example, on the François Vase (fig. 112),¹⁷³ or advancing on foot, leaning on a satyr's shoulder. Dionysos is not always present. On a pelike in Munich,¹⁷⁴ Hephaistos, holding a pair of tongs in his right hand, follows Dionysos holding a thyrsos. In front, a maenad is playing the cymbals. Hephaistos's chin is tucked in as he staggers and leans backwards on a satyr. He is completely drunk. Although this vase is painted in the exquisite style of the Kleophon Painter, many details make the scene amusing. Although ugliness is often necessary in caricatures, it is not in situation comedy. Hephaistos tricked Hera, and Dionysos overcame Hephaistos. It is the *way* in which he was deceived that is comic and this is what is emphasised in the paintings. It is the drunken state of the god that is amusing and especially the way in which it is depicted, that is, the elements that convey his drunkenness. In this picture, he wears a crown of ivy, but on other vases he wears the typical *komast* headband as if he were coming back from a drinking-party. This scene is as common as that of Herakles delivering the Erymanthian boar. It must have pleased viewers. The donkey on which he rides back to the Olympus is almost always ithyphallic, and an oinochoe (wine jug) is often seen hanging from the animal's erect penis. To be drunk at a symposium was not comic in itself, but here is a god, supposedly superior to men, who acts like a common drunkard, led wherever his guide chooses to take him. Pseudo-Longinus (38.6) claims that the sublime is close to the ridiculous because of their shared use of hyperbole: 'Hyperboles may be found in the smallest things as well as in the greatest; because in both ways there is intensification. Comic aggression is in a sense a magnification of lowness'. Steinrueck (2000: 58) comments: 'The sublime does not imply necessarily a tremendous distance towards the heights, but a superhuman distance'. If a god does not live up to his 'superhuman' state, he may be seen as ridiculous and therefore laughable.

¹⁷¹ See Clay 1972, 1997: 13–25; Lateiner 1977, 1995: 28; and Levine 1983.

¹⁷² See also Delcourt 1957; Halm-Tisserant 1986; and Collobert 2000.

¹⁷³ Florence, 4209.

¹⁷⁴ Pelike, Attic RE, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2361; (BA 215176), ARV² 1145.36, Add² 335, Part 450; Brommer 1937: pl. 5.4; CVA, Munich, Antiker Kleinkunst 2, pls. 74.1–2, 75.2.6.7; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 29. From Sicily, Gela; Kleophon Painter; 440–420 BC.



Figure 67. *Woman riding a phallus-swan*. Cup, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 57912; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

A Swan, a Phallus, or Both?

In the tondo of a cup in Rome (fig. 67),¹⁷¹ a young naked woman wearing the respectable women's *sakkos* and earrings is riding a phallus bird as if she were flying on a swan's back. The phallus-bird has an eye and no scrotum. This image is a parody of three common models. Aphrodite, Apollo and Hyacinth, or Zeus and Leda. A cup in London

¹⁷¹ Cup, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 57912; (BA 200468), ARV² 72.24, 1584-4, 1623, Add 82, Add¹ 167; Koch-Harnach 1989: fig. 35. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 68. *Aphrodite riding a swan*. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, D2; Pistoxenos Painter; 460–440 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

(fig. 68)¹⁷⁶ shows Aphrodite, her name inscribed, holding foliage in her right hand as she often does, although usually a flower. The parody would be simple, as the nude woman is probably a *hetaira* and would be a perfect parody: a swan becomes a phallus-bird and Aphrodite, goddess of love and sex, is but a prostitute. Another possibility is Hyacinth, the youth pursued by Apollo: he is flying, riding a swan, and holding similar foliage to

¹⁷⁶ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, D2; (BA 211350), ARV² 862.22, *Add* 146, *Para* 425, *Add* 298; ARFH II, fig. 67; Boardman, J. (1996) *Greek Art*, 4th edn. London: 202, fig. 199. From Rhodes, Camiros; Pistoxenos Painter; 460–440 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 69. *Hyacinth riding Apollo's swan*. Cup, Attic RF, Basel market; (BA 275888); Akestorides Painter; 490–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Aphrodite's in the tondo of a red-figure cup (fig. 69),¹⁷⁷ Apollo's animal was the swan; in another words, the swan whose head is pointing to the skies is really an aroused Apollo taking Hyacinth away. Finally, it could be a parody of the episode in which Zeus was pursuing Leda. She transforms into a goose to escape from him, but he in turn transforms into a swan and catches up with her. She gives birth to an egg. If the parody refers to these figures, the parodied god is almighty Zeus. All three stories were very well-known at the time so it is likely that any vase-painter so inclined would have no lack of serious models from which to parody.

¹⁷⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Basel market; (BA 275888) *Para* 417, *Add*¹ 289; *ARFH I*, fig. 368. Akestorides Painter; 490–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also cup, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.11.10; (BA 200619), *ARV*² 77.92, *Add* 83, *Add*¹ 169; *CVA*, Northampton, Castle Ashby, pl. 41.3; From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC.



Figure 70. *Honey thieves fighting bees*. Amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B177; Manner of Princeton Painter; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Of Bees and Men

On an amphora in London (fig. 70),¹⁷⁸ four naked men are attacked by swarming bees. Two characters are standing and waving branches. The third, grotesquely obese and presented frontally to the viewer, is crouching, trying to wave the bees away with his bare hands. He is stung on the penis, as is the fourth man on the far right. The latter is holding tightly onto an oval object. It is a honeycomb from the bee hive that he is trying to lick clean. Bees are not ordinarily aggressive in vase-painting (Davies and Kathirithamby 1987: 67), and only one other amphora, in Basel,¹⁷⁹ displays an almost identical scene. Most behaviourists agree on the fact that bees will only attack and sting to protect the colony or when frightened.¹⁸⁰ Three men are depicted among swarming bees. The scene could be labeled as ‘four [or three] honey thieves punished for their deed’.

There is to my knowledge no other parallel in Greek iconography, but there is a story told by Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 19), an author of the second century AD: four

¹⁷⁸ Amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B177; (BA 4330), *Para* 134; CVA, Great Britain 4, London British Museum 3, pl. 32.1c. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Manner of Princeton Painter; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁷⁹ Amphora, Attic BF, Basel, Historisches Museum, Z364; (BA 340559), *Add.* 80, *Para* 134.21quater; CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum 1, pl. 30.2.4; Swing Painter; 550–530 BC.

¹⁸⁰ Hambleton, J. (1934) ‘Bee Behavior’. *The Scientific Monthly*, 545–6.

Cretans, Laios, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios, tried to steal child-Zeus's honey in the sacred cave of Mount Ida or 'Mount Aegeum' (Hes. *Theog.* 484). They covered themselves with bronze plaques to protect themselves against the bees that had nourished the god, but failed in the attempt and were punished for their offence by Zeus who transformed them into birds. The obvious problem here is that the text was produced eight centuries after the pictures were produced and is written in such a way that it recalls many *euhemeristic* stories of the Hellenistic period. The names of the four thieves transformed into birds by Zeus are very peculiar: these are not ordinary thieves. *Laios* is a blue thrush, *Keleos* a green woodpecker, *Aigolios* an owl, and *Kerberos* is unidentified (Cook 1895: 2). The motif of the 'bronze plaques' recalls the Kouretes on Mount Ida, beating their bronze shields so that Chronos would not hear Zeus cry (Strabo 10.3.1; Ap. *Bibl.* 1.17). The story by Liberalis could be a variation of an original story according to which the bees came because the Kouretes made too much noise (Myth. Vat. 2.16), or a mixture of different stories. Then again, the text does not mention that the bees sting the thieves: Zeus punishes them himself, and Zeus is not depicted on the London or the Basel amphora. In both comic pictures, the bees punish the thieves without divine assistance.

For our purposes, the painter gives enough elements to understand the picture. If he was inspired by a specific mythological story, he managed to transform it into a lively situation comedy where thieves are punished by the very bees they were trying to rob. The painter has represented the thieves as fools, naked and unprotected, and the comedy is enhanced by their grotesque gestures and two thieves being stung on the genitals (Grmek and Gourevitch 1998: 103). It is often a pleasure for a viewer, a listener, or a reader to know that thieves are eventually punished. A French saying fits this moral accurately: 'Qui s'y frotte s'y pique'. The painting is almost theatrical. Situation comedy is mostly used in drama and fables, for its humour is more visual than textual.



Satyrs and Comic Parody

1. SOUTH ITALIAN VASE-PAINTING: OLD COMEDY AND VISUAL HUMOUR

The only visual humour that most classicists are usually aware of are the so-called phlyax scenes painted on South Italian vases and possibly inspired from Old Comedy. I will therefore rapidly discuss visual humour within South Italian vase-painting before focusing on the satyr and his central role in Greek visual humour. Most aspects of these South Italian phlyax scenes have been treated systematically by Trendall and more recently by Taplin (2007). What was the purpose of representing actors on stage? Was it an 'interesting' subject, which painters knew would delight their buyers because it reminded them of a funny play they may have seen? Were they intended to be funny not just by their reference to stage comedy but through their visual representation?

This section is a very brief incursion into South Italian (Apulian, Paestan, and Lucanian) humorous iconography rather than a survey. It is beyond the scope of the present work to probe South Italian iconography beyond this admittedly cursory examination. During the early day of the Roman Republic, there seemed to have been a local genre of tragic parody known as hilarotragodia or phlyax plays. The word meant 'gossip' plays (in the plural phlyakes).¹ A number of vases from various regions in Southern Italy depict mock-heroic scenes. Although the debate has centred on a local versus Old Greek Comedy (Aristophanic) origin for the inspiration of these vases, some scholars, such as Green and Handley (1995: 53), have suggested the possibility of a Greek 'classic revival' in Southern Italy, and Taplin also proposed that a number of these phlyax vases were actually visual parodies of 'serious' Italian imagery.

Phlyax scenes are closely related to theatrical performance: the vase-paintings often show figures dressed in theatrical costumes, wearing specific masks rather than just iconographic caricatures, especially as the theatrical stage is often clearly shown in the paintings. The number of actual scenes that I consider to be genuine visual parodies is very limited. Thus, apart from a few theatrically related comic vases I will discuss for the sake of methodology, those I will put forward as visual parodies are not connected to the stage.

¹ On phlyax scenes, see Trendall 1967 and R. Green 1991.

Discerning visual humour from representations of dramatic performance in Athenian and Boeotian iconography is a rather painless procedure in comparison to South Italian vases. The wealth of historical information we possess on Athens is absent from Southern Italy, which give many assertions a speculative flavour rather than an informed one. Taplin (1987, 1991, 1993, 1994, 2007) was evidently faced with a real dilemma when having to interpret a number of phlyax vases as South Italian parodies rather than South Italian representations of dramatic performance, Greek or local. The interpretation of the scene on a bell-krater in Würzburg illustrates this problem.² Taplin shows how this scene could well be an instance of what he names *paraiconography*, that is, parodies of known myths in iconography. This bell-krater shows two figures. The left one is carrying a bell-krater, and the other rests his knee on an altar whilst holding in one hand a sword and in the other a wineskin in baby clothing. The baby shoes are plainly visible. This scene parodies a very well-known iconographical model of Telephos resting his knee on a sacred altar whilst holding in one hand his sword and the other the infant Orestes.³ However, both figures wear masks. We also find two instances of this specific motive in works by Aristophanes. In one play, *Acharnians* (325–46), Dikaiopolis threatens to kill a bag of charcoal, as if it were the infant Orestes, while facing the Acharnians who are about to stone him. And, in another play, *The Thesmophoriazusae*, the uncle of the playwright Euripides has been sent, disguised as a woman, to the secret female gatherings of the Thesmophoria to investigate whether the women wish for Euripides' death. Unfortunately for him, the word gets out among the women that there is a traitor, a man, in their midst, and his presence is revealed. He is about to be taken by the police when he snatches what he thinks is a baby from a worthy woman who has been criticising him in the preceding scene. As he unwraps the baby's clothing, he discovers it is a wineskin. He 'sacrifices' the baby! This last scene (*Thesm.* 689–759) is so clearly represented on the vase-painting in Würzburg that to think of it as coincidence is almost inconceivable. This vase is exceptional but, like other phlyax scenes, it is theatrical. A bell-krater in Bari⁴ clearly shows the wooden stage, windows, and doors with onlooking figures, the masked figures, the all over skin-tight drama costumes, the padded bellies and bottoms, the fake phalluses. It is a scene from a drama performance just as are most of the other phlyax scenes. Some comparable scenes are the comically drunk and flabby Herakles on a *klinē*⁵ or briskly walking while carrying food and wine.⁶ Compared to scenes where a dignified Herakles drinks from a kantharos,⁷ the two preceding scenes seem at first sight to be parodies. Indeed they are so, but in both scenes Herakles is an

² Bell-krater, Apulian RF, Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Museum, HA 5697; *RV Ap* I 65, no. 4/4a; Green and Handley 1993: 52–3; Taplin 1987: 92–104. Schiller Painter; 380–370 BC.

³ See, for instance, a calyx-crater, Attic RF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, V.I. 3974; *LIMC* pl. 599, s.v. 'Telephos' 55. See also a calyx-krater, Lucanian, RF, Cleveland, Museum of Art, 91.1; *LIMC*, pl. 600, s.v. 'Telephos' 59; Painter of Policoro; 400 BC. See a bell-krater, Campanian RF, Naples, Museo Nazionale, 81646 [H2293]; *LIMC*, pl. 600, s.v. 'Telephos' 62.

⁴ Bell-krater, Apulian RF, Bari, Museo Archeologico, 3899; *RV Ap* I 48, no. 6/96; *PhV* 2, no. 18.

⁵ Bell-krater, Apulian RF, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1776–1919; *RV Ap* I, 129, 259.

⁶ Chous, South Italian RF, London, British Museum, F99; (BA 425120); *CVA*, London, British Museum 2, IV.E.a. 5, pl. 4.8 From the Basilicata.

⁷ Pelike, South Italian RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre; *CVA*, France 12, Musée du Louvre 8, pl. 48.4.

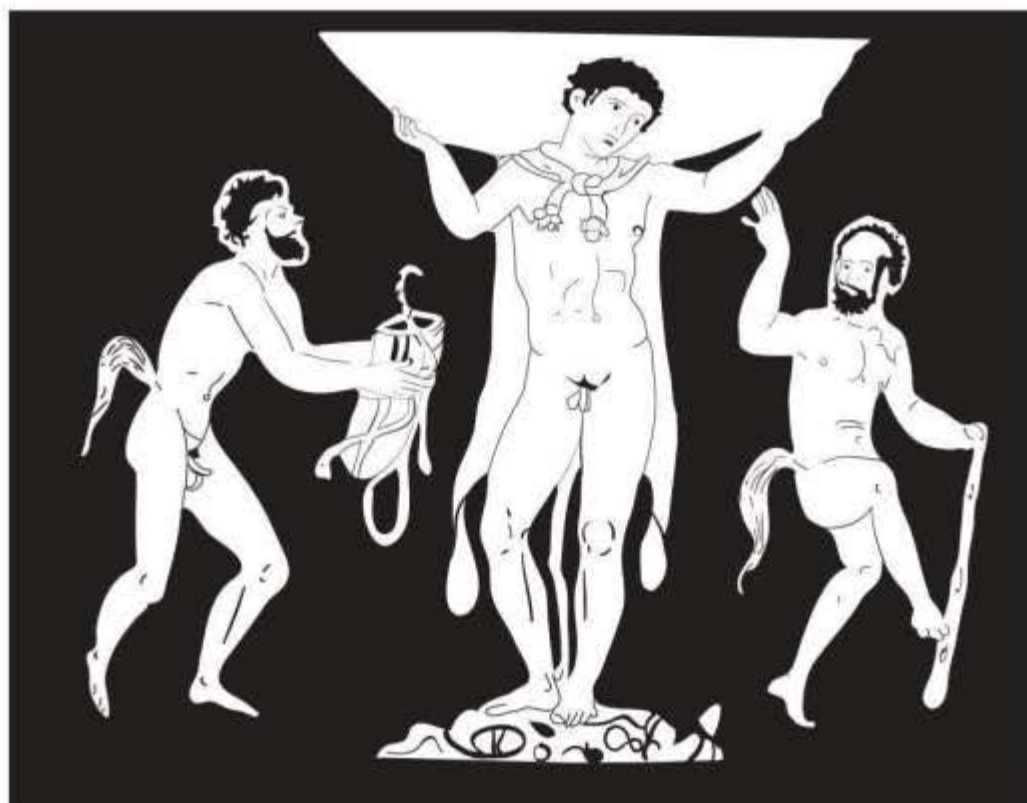


Figure 71. *Two satyrs taunting Herakles carrying the Universe in Atlas's absence, having stolen his weapons*. Bell-krater, Apulian RF, Milan, Moretti collection. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

actor dressed as Herakles: the mask and the skin tight costume are clearly visible and give him away.

There are, nevertheless, a number of humorous scenes that display visual humour rather than dramatic performance. A most comical depiction of heroic powerlessness is shown on an Apulian bell-krater in Milan (fig. 71).⁸ Herakles is holding up the skies while waiting for Atlas to return from the Garden of the Hesperides with the golden apples. While Herakles is standing thus, a satyr grabs his quiver and another his club. Because the satyrs know he cannot prevent them stealing his affairs as he must hold the skies, not only do they pilfer his weapons but they taunt him while doing so. The satyr on the left brings the hero's quiver under his nose, and the satyr on the right is waving goodbye to Herakles while sauntering away with the hero's club in stark contrast to the 'usual' depictions shown on many vases since the time of attic black-figure.⁹ The vase-painter displays

⁸ Bell-krater, Apulian RF, Milan, Moretti collection; (Webster 1967: 38). Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁹ Lekythos, Attic BF, Athens National Museum, 1132; (BA 330739), ABV 522, ABL 256.50, 150, 155; Immerwahr 1990: pl. 25.107. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC.

a fine sense of humour. There is a comically enhanced representation of Herakles and the Kerkopes brothers on a Lucanian pelike, which shows the Kerkopes with mischievous satyric faces.¹⁰ Kirpatrick (2002: 53) notes that the kerkopes have long phalluses, which he would like to connect to drama but also acknowledges that this is already the case on a black-figure olpe in Brussels, produced long before any plays on the subject.¹¹ He then proceeds to say 'the vase-paintings record a comic parody of the scene in Euripides' (2002: 54).¹²

A rhyton in Ruvo¹³ shows a grotesque pygmy fighting a crane, similar to the Athenian representations of the same subject in the red-figure technique.¹⁴ A dwarfish and feisty male figure wearing a *polos* is brandishing a club. On a vase in Taranto,¹⁵ a seated Kreon (name inscribed) faces the sphinx, which is standing on a rock. Her vulva and pubic hair are on display, and her tail ends in a penis with a tethered foreskin. Her face is caricatured as is Kreon's. A male figure, taken to be Oedipus, walks behind the seated Kreon. This figure is identified to be Oedipus, according to a number of scholars, because his feet are swollen. But in actual fact, many other figures, in representations attributed to the Felton Painter, also display such swollen feet.

A chous in London (fig. 72)¹⁶ shows a much-caricatured Odysseus wearing his sailor's *polos* and carrying the Palladion. He has stolen the sacred image of Athena from the city of Troy. His stomach appears inflated as do his testes. His head is not in proportion to his body and his face is very hairy. His *polos* is pulled down quite low, which adds to the uncouth aspect of the hero, with hair sprouting from either side of the *polos*. A red-figure volute-krater,¹⁷ signed by the Paestan painter Asteas, shows a comical inversion of the usual scene of Ajax raping and murdering Cassandra. Instead of Cassandra desperately holding onto the Palladion, a caricatured Ajax clutches the sacred image of Athena. He is seeking protection from the terrible blow Cassandra is about to deliver him. She has already grabbed him by his helmet. To their right, a caricatured wrinkled old priestess, holding onto the temple key, raises a hand in dismay at the scene she is witnessing.

Gods are also mocked in South Italian vase-paintings. Athena is caricatured on a fragment in Malibu (fig. 73).¹⁸ She is wearing her helmet and is carrying a shield and lance, but her chin is pointed and her nose is so long and curved that it seems to be on its way

¹⁰ Pelike, Lucanian RF, Malibu, J. Paul-Getty Museum, 81.AE.189; LIMC 6, s.v. 'Kerkopes' 7.

¹¹ Brussels, R293.

¹² Hopefully, the reader will recognise here the type of methodological flaw described further in Chapter 4, 'The Satyr: an Anti-hero'.

¹³ Rhyton, Attic RF, Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1408; (BA 218716), ARV² 1551.19, *Add²* 388, *Para* 505; LIMC VII, pl. 470, s.v. 'Pygmaioi' 13; Dasen 1993: pl. 65.3a-b; *Mediterranean Archaeology* 12 (1999) pl. 5.1. From Italy, Ruvo; Class W.

¹⁴ See further in Chapter 5.

¹⁵ Oinochoe, Apulian RF, Taranto, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Ragusa 74; Moret 1984: 142, pl. 94, no. 193.

¹⁶ Chous, Apulian RF, London, British Museum, F366. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁷ Volute-krater fr., Paestan RF, Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50279; RV 2.130, pl. 54b; RFVVIS, fig. 354. From Italy, Buccino. 380-370 BC.

¹⁸ Bell-krater fr., Apulian RF, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum; *Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) 160-1, no. 7. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 72. *Grotesque Odysseus stealing the Palladion*. Chous, Apulian RF, London, British Museum, F366. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

to meet her chin. Her forehead is wrinkled too. The painter of a calyx-krater in Lecce¹⁹ decided to mock Hermes' ungodly-like kleptomania. A woman is doing her hair standing at a laver and looking at her image in a mirror. A satyr is offering her with one hand an alabastron, which probably contains perfumed oil, and with the other hand, a sponge.

¹⁹ Calyx-krater, Apulian RF, Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, 629; CVA, Italia 4, Lecce Museo Provinciale, pl. 2.3.



Figure 73. *Caricatured Athena*. Bell-krater fr., Apulian RF, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

While she is thus engrossed in her toilette, Hermes, identifiable from his winged helmet and messenger's *caduceus*, is shown sneaking away, having stolen her clothes and a personal object of hers. A similar scene is shown on a vase in Paris³⁰ but with a man stealing from the woman rather than a god.

Finally, a bell-krater³¹ shows a most unusual scene. A woman, seen holding a phiale and a crown, and a satyr are making ritual offerings to what seems at first to be a hermaic pillar but must be in fact Hermes himself. He is entirely naked except for his boots, a short cape, and his *petasos*. He has a beer-belly and his distinctive large-brimmed hat (*petasos*) has slipped to the back of his head in a somewhat childish fashion. As is the custom for all hermaic pillars, he is likewise ithyphallic. But as he is in reality the god and not the statue, one can wager that the reason he is ithyphallic must be sought in the presence of the woman in the scene who has already garlanded his penis and is about to add another crown to it!

The visual representation of dramatic performance was important for viewers of South Italian pottery, much more so than for Athenian viewers. We find, therefore, a

³⁰ Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 336; (BA 203122), ARV² 303.1, 305.1, 676.20, Add³ 212; CVA, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 32, pl. 33.3–4. Painter of Petit Palais 336; 490–470 BC.

³¹ Bell-krater, Lucanian RF, Kiel, Private collection (on loan to Hamburg); LCS Supp. III, p. 69, no. BB30. Brooklyn-Budapest Painter.

great many serious and comical scenes emanating from the performances of famous and unknown plays. But, from the last scenes I have just described, it is obvious that *visual humour* also existed in South Italian iconography although probably to a lesser extent and not necessarily embedded in the atmosphere of the theatre. It mocked essentially the self-same myths and famous mythological figures that were also mocked in Athenian and Boeotian iconography.

2. SATYRS, SUBVERSIVE 'CITIZENS'

Nature of the Satyr (Physical, Moral)

Satyrs are found in conventional mythological scenes in the black- and red-figure techniques, ranging from the early sixth century until the late fifth century.²² Satyrs often escort Dionysos at his wedding with Ariadne, as on a cup in New York²³ where two ithyphallic satyrs attend the marriage of the divine couple. On the other side, ithyphallic satyrs are dancing with maenads. Satyrs are also often represented at vintages²⁴ or escorting Dionysos, as in the *Return of Hephaistos*. They are sometimes called silens (Hedreen 1992), but I would prefer to use this denomination for the old satyr Papposilenos who receives the infant Hermes, or Silenos, as in the myth of Midas.²⁵ It is extraordinarily difficult to define precisely what 'a satyr' was in the ancient Greek frame of mind.²⁶ A satyr was a hybrid mythological being, half-man and half-animal. As far as his visual description goes, his ears and tail were those of a horse. He was also identifiable as a satyr from his snub, squashed nose, a bald forehead, a bushy beard, and perhaps his most important feature, his very generously proportioned and erect penis. As an example, on a red-figure skyphos in Copenhagen (fig. 74),²⁷ a satyr crouches forward ready to jump on a prey; his

²² See Hedreen 1992.

²³ Cup, Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.5; (BA 350749), *Add*² 51, *Para* 78.3; CVA, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2, pl. 19.31; *ABFH*, fig. 118.1-2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Oakeshott Painter; 520-500 BC.

²⁴ Column-krater, Attic RF, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 243; (BA 205907), *ARV*² 524.25, *Add*² 124, *Add*² 254, *Para* 383; (Bérard and Vernant 1984: fig. 186); CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 1, III.C.12, pl. 28.1-3. From Italy, Bologna; Orchard Painter; 470-460 BC. See also column-krater, Attic RF, Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, 602; (BA 206527), *ARV*² 569.39, *Add*² 128, *Add*² 281, *Para* 390; CVA, Italia 4, Lecce Museo Provinciale, pl. 6.1. From Italy, Ruggie; Leningrad Painter; 480-460 BC.

²⁵ Amphora, Attic BF, Gela, Museo Archeologico, N108B; (BA 303453), *ABV* 482.4, *Add*² 121, *Para* 220; CVA, Italia 36, Gela, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4, pls. 20.2, 21.1-2. From Sicily, Gela; Akin to Doublets; 515-500 BC. See also neck-amphora, Attic RF, Baltimore, John Hopkins University, B13; (BA 202854); *CQ* 2 (1983) at p. 313, pl. 1; *LIMC* VIII, pl. 570, s.v. 'Midas' 27; CVA, USA 6, Baltimore, Robinson Collection 2, pls. 29.12-b, 30.1. From Italy, Taranto (?); Harrow Painter; 510-470 BC. And pelike, Attic BF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.11.1; (BA 302864), *ABV* 384.19, *Add*² 101; *ABFH*, fig. 210; *LIMC* VIII, pl. 569, s.v. 'Midas' 9. Acheloos Painter; 550-530 BC. And stamnos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E447; (BA 213470), *ARV*² 1035.3; CVA, London, British Museum 3, III.C.9, pl. 22.22-c; *ARFH* II, fig. 139. From Italy, Chiusi; Near Polygnotos; Midas Painter; 440-430 BC.

²⁶ See further discussion in Chapter 6, 'Playing with Taboos: Who are the Satyrs?'

²⁷ Skyphos, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 1943; (BA 213285), *ARV*² 976.3; Moraw 1998: pl. 18.46a-b; CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 4, pl. 159.12-b. From Greece; Zephyros Painter; 460-440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 74. *Satyr, steaming with desire*. Skyphos, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 1943; Zephyros Painter; 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

fingers, drawn in the likeness of an animal's claws, are almost trembling with tantalising desire and signify that he is plotting mischief against a fleeing maenad, painted on the other side of the vase. Morally weak and unprincipled, cowardly and lustful are just a few of satyrs' more colourful foibles. Examples in literature abound with descriptions of satyrs as cowards, drunkards, and lustful creatures, although, at the same time, they were not considered evil or wicked creatures and, in some circumstances, could even be shown to be playful, teasing, mischievous, or good-natured. Euripides' *Cyclops*, one of the few satyr plays of which more than a title and a few lines are preserved, is a good source on satyrs' weaknesses, and through such failings as cowardliness and excessive love of wine made spectators and audiences laugh. In this play, Silenos is a satyr who gives away his master Cyclops's possessions to Odysseus, in exchange for a swig of wine: 'Silenos: The man who does not enjoy drinking is mad' (Eur. *Cycl.* 168).

When Odysseus speaks about his plan to blind the Cyclops, all the satyrs promise to support him. When the time comes for action, they run away:

LEADER OF SEMI-CHORUS A: We stand too far from the door to push the fire into the Cyclops' eye.

CHORUS B: And we have just now become lame.

CHORUS A: The same thing has happened to me. As I was standing here I sprained my ankles, I can't think how.

ODYSSEUS: You got a sprain while standing?

CHORUS A: Yes, and somehow my eyes have become full of dust or ash.

ODYSSEUS: These allies of mine are cowardly and worthless.

CHORUS-LEADER: Just because I take pity on my back and my spine and have no desire to have my teeth knocked out, is that cowardice? (Eur. *Cycl.* 635-48)

By exhibiting such inadequacies, the satyr is shown up as the antithesis of the 'hero' and is considered less than a man. In this respect, he is similar to an ape, often considered to be laughable imitations of men. Satyrs are called 'beasts' and 'apes'²⁸ in Sophocles' *Ichnetai*. They are comic figures *per se*. Although satyrs are mythological creatures, they are found in numerous non-mythological scenes: the first half of this chapter is devoted to the description of these scenes.

Gluttony, Satyr-Style

Satyrs are shown on numerous vases serving and drinking pure unmixed wine from wineskins or amphorae. In the tondo of a cup in Baltimore,²⁹ a reclining satyr is drinking unmixed wine from an amphora. Satyrs destabilise traditional iconography. On a skyphos-cup in Oxford (fig. 33)³⁰ produced in the last quarter of the sixth century, a painter has shown the normal, that is, the proper way to drink from a krater. One youth dips an oinochoe into it. He will then pour the wine into the other figure's cup. In the tondo of a cup in Geneva (fig. 34),³¹ a satyr has jumped head first into a krater. The satyr's attitude is comical because of its exaggeration caused by his gluttony. On a cup in Boston,³² a satyr is washing himself with wine in a bell-krater as a woman would with water in a *louterion* (washing basin). A series of vases³³ show satyrs looking into amphorae. On a cup in the

²⁸ Paris, Louvre, G241; London, E307; Rome, Villa Giulia, 64224.

²⁹ Cup, Attic RF, Baltimore, John Hopkins University, B3; (BA 200500), ARV² 75.56, *Add* 83, *Add* 168; ARFH I, fig. 69; CVA, Baltimore, Robinson Collection 2, pls. 1.3, 2.3; From Italy, Chiusi (?); Epiktetos (by signature); 520-490 BC.

³⁰ Oxford, 520.

³¹ Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 16908.

³² Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.82; (BA 201143); ARV² 117.2, Akroton Painter; 510-500 BC.

³³ Cup, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, H569 (BA 205372), ARV² 451.1, *Add* 139, *Add* 242, *Pint* 376; Moret 1984: pls. 30-31.1; Boardman 2000: 196, fig. 212. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Oedipus Painter; 480-470 BC. See also cup, Etruscan RF, Paris, Musée Rodin, 980; (BA 100794); CVA, France 16, Musée Rodin 1, pl. 29.2-3. And cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E35; (BA 200481), ARV² 74.38, *Add* 83, *Add* 168; ARFH I, fig. 73. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epiktetos; 520-490 BC.

Vatican,³⁴ a group of satyrs are furious at a young satyr whom they are about to beat with a sandal. One of the satyrs is looking into an amphora to check if there is any wine left. Presumably, the young one must have quaffed all the wine. A scene on an Etruscan cup³⁵ shows a very similar scene. Another cup, in London,³⁶ shows a mad *kōmos* of satyrs. One of the satyrs is holding an amphora sideways while another stares into it.

Askoi, from the Greek *askos* for 'wineskin',³⁷ were, in clay, tiny wine containers. A group of these askoi show scenes of satyrs at play on either side of their top handle. On an askos in Tübingen,³⁸ two satyrs are drinking pure, unmixed wine directly from an amphora. The first satyr holds the amphora straight while the other uses it as a cushion. An askos in Warsaw (fig. 75)³⁹ shows a satyr, clearly drunk, trying to sleep off his wine on an amphora he uses as a cushion. The extraordinary aspect of this askos is the facial characterisation of the drunken satyr! His swollen, sleepy eyes are typical of a drunken person. On an askos in Oxford,⁴⁰ a crouching satyr is serving himself unmixed wine into his wine horn (rhyton) from an amphora. Another satyr is crawling unnoticed towards him holding a rhyton.

A fountain house is shown on an oinochoe in Frankfurt.⁴¹ On one side, a woman fills her container with fresh water, and, on the other, a satyr fills his container. The liquid pouring into the satyr's container is most probably wine not water. On a chous in Würzburg,⁴² a satyr, with a banqueter's sash tied around his head, is riding an ithyphallic donkey. Even the donkey's ears are tied back with a banqueter's sash. The satyr has just dropped an empty wine vessel. Could he be on his way to a symposium or returning home drunk?

Half-buried pithoi are shown in a variety of contexts. As discussed earlier, Eurystheus jumps into a pithos when Herakles brings him the wild boar alive and kicking. Pholos the centaur serves Herakles some of his wine stored in a half-buried pithos;⁴³ in numerous funerary scenes, little souls called *eidola* often escape or fly about at the entrance to the underworld, represented as a half-buried pithos. On a chous in Leiden,⁴⁴ two satyrs are making gestures at each other as they stand over the mouth of a buried pithos. Are they arguing over who should jump in first? The last two vases show satyrs drawn by their

³⁴ Vatican City, H569.

³⁵ Paris, Rodin, 980.

³⁶ London, E35.

³⁷ On the humorous uses of wineskins and especially at the hands of satyrs, see Mitchell 2000.

³⁸ Askos, Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, S1700; (BA 16838); Watzinger 1924: pl. 36; CVA, Deutschland 54, Tübingen 5, pl. 23, no. 8–10, 440–420 BC.

³⁹ Askos, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum, 198897; (BA 14453); CVA, Poland 6, Warsaw 1, pl. 45.4, 6, 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁴⁰ Askos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 541; (BA 13281); JHS 25 (1905) 72; CVA, Great Britain 3, Oxford 1, pl. 45.2. From Russia, South, Kerch; 440–420 BC.

⁴¹ Oinochoe, Attic BF, Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, B308; (BA 352069), Para 287, 288; CVA, Deutschland 25, Frankfurt Am Main 1, pl. 40.4. Painter of the Half-Palmettes; 510–500 BC.

⁴² Chous, Attic RF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum antikenabteilung, H5387; (BA 6388); CVA, Deutschland 46, Würzburg 2, pl. 16.1–3. Pistoxenos Painter; 460–440 BC.

⁴³ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1480; (BA 320314), ABV 288.11, Add: 75; CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, pls. 407.1, 408.1–2, 412.4; LIMC VIII, pl. 442, s.v. 'Kentauroi et Kentaures' 239. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Group of Würzburg 199; 510–500 BC.

⁴⁴ Chous, Attic BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, K94.9.20; (BA 340841), ABL 207.44, Para 216, Add: 119; CVA, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 2, pl. 83.1–2. Gela Painter; 520–500 BC.



Figure 75. *Drunk satyr*. Askos, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum, 198897; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

gluttony to frightful excesses. A hydria in Munich (fig. 76)⁴⁵ shows a very incongruous situation. Two satyrs are desperately trying to do away with a deer, which is standing, unaware, above a volute-krater. Why such a civilised item as a wine mixing bowl should be situated in the wild is unexplained, but as we already know, the presence of satyrs makes the most unlikely conditions possible. The animal stands its ground: while one of the satyrs jerks the proud deer by its antlers the other pulls one of the animal's hind legs. A skyphos in St. Petersburg (fig. 77)⁴⁶ shows a highly comical scene. A satyr is defending his wine against another satyr. He is standing in a well-known boxing posture atop three amphorae all stacked one on top of the other. The other satyr, dressed as a citizen with a mantle and a cane, holds his hand up in the sign of supplication. Between them, a thyrsos, the magical staff usually held by Dionysos or the bacchantes, has become a sort of kitchen stand for utensils with a ladle and a wine vessel hanging from its branches.

Sexual Exaggeration

Satyrs are often blinded by their passions, not only for wine, for sex too. They pursue unwilling maenads on countless vases. The antithetical representations of human and

⁴⁵ Hydria, Attic RF, Munich. *Antikensammlungen*, 2422; (BA 200127), ARV² 24.8, 1620, *Add* 74, *Add* 155; CVA, Munich, *Museum Antiker Klenkunst* 5, pls. 218.4, 220.3–4, 225.1, 226.4.9.12; *ARFH* I, fig. 135. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; *Plinias*, 525–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁴⁶ Skyphos, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 834; (BA 219003), ARV² 1301.8; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32, III, 298–9; Waldhauer 1934: 19–20; Rumpf 1953: 33.1. Penelope Painter, 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

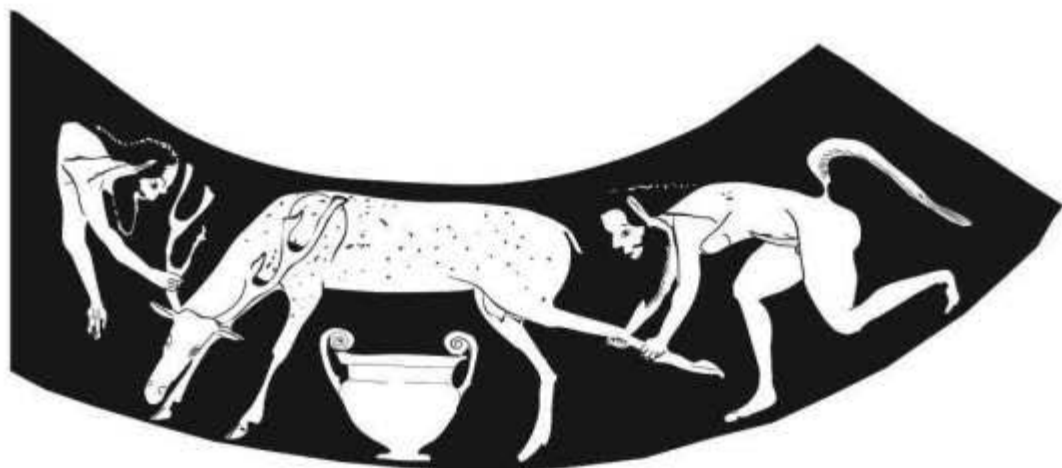


Figure 76. *Satyrs trying to get to a wine krater over which a deer is grazing.* Hydria, Attic RF, Munich. Antikensammlungen, 2422; Phintias; 525–510 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

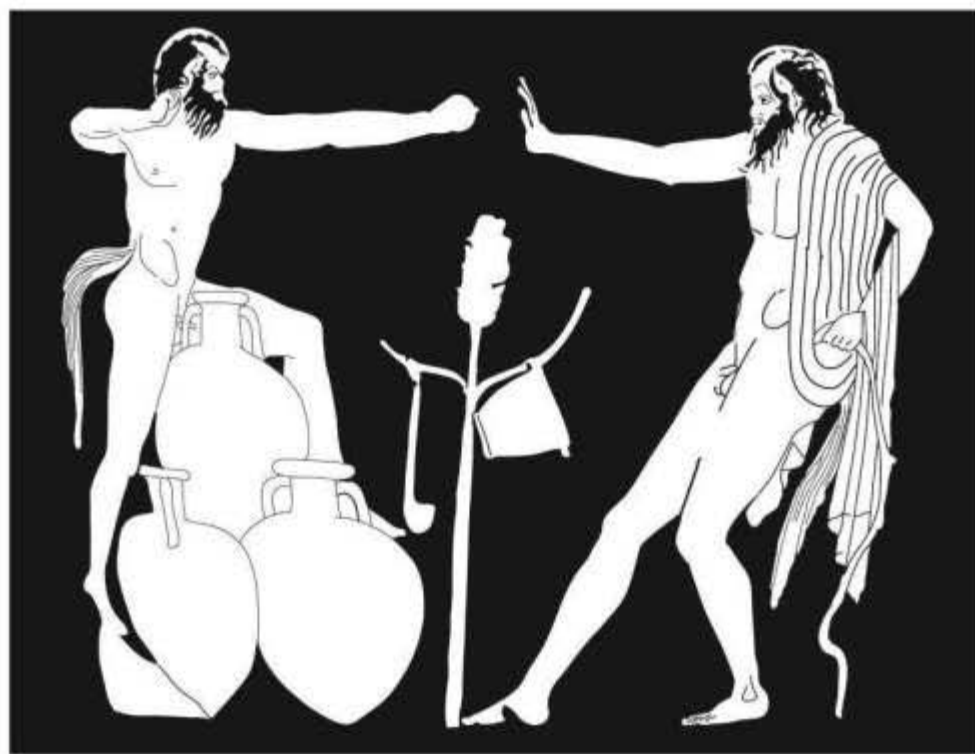


Figure 77. *Satyr in a boxing pose protecting his wine amphorae.* Skyphos, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 834; Penelope Painter; 440–420 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

satyr love-making are shown on each side of a pelike in London.⁴⁷ On one side, a man and a woman, both fully clothed, hold each other in an embrace while gazing into each other's eyes. On the other side, an ithyphallic satyr runs away with a captive maenad slung over his shoulder. On the skyphos in Copenhagen (fig. 74) we have already seen,⁴⁸ a satyr is shown coveting a maenad. He is leaning forward with tantalising desire, his fingers bent as avid claws about to pounce on a defenceless maenad. On a lekythos in Buffalo,⁴⁹ an ithyphallic and hairy satyr is riding a donkey. The donkey has attacked a fleeing maenad by biting her lightly. One wonders which of the two, the donkey or the satyr, is the more interested in the maenad, as both creatures are shown ithyphallic! With a few exceptions, maenads do not 'normally' participate in sexual activities, and especially not in the unusual sex acts that satyrs often indulge in. On a skyphos in Munich,⁵⁰ a maenad is placing her hand on a doe's vulva from behind. This interpretation must be the correct one as a man is also shown penetrating a doe on a black-figure lekythos in Munich⁵¹ – and a satyr is performing the same act in the presence of a maenad on a kyathos in Munich (fig. 78).⁵² Another vase in Munich⁵³ shows three satyrs playing with an ithyphallic horse. One is facing the animal, another is riding it, and the third is penetrating the horse in its behind.

Visual Puns

Playing with Decorative Motifs

Eyes and Wineskins On a red-figure cup in Hamburg (fig. 5),⁵⁴ Herakles, kantharos in hand, is standing between two large eyes. We have seen earlier how vase-painters time and again used their talents to corrupt the conventional 'large eyes', a typical decorative motif on cups and other vessels. Satyrs are used by painters to go that *extra mile* in creating some astonishing visual puns. On a black-figure olpe in Berkeley (fig. 1),⁵⁵ Dionysos walks to the right between two eyes supported by satyrs. Both satyrs carry the eyes exactly like other satyrs usually carry wineskins on their backs: they hold the wineskins from one of the tied openings (on this vase the eye's tear duct). The painter manages an exquisite visual pun because 'a wineskin full to bursting' (Lissarrague 1990a: 142) and

⁴⁷ Pelike, Attic BF, London, British Museum, W40; (BA 302865), ABV 384.20, Add¹ 101; CVA, London, British Museum 3, III.He.9, pl. 44.3a–b; ABFH, fig. 211.1–2. Acheloos Painter; 550–530 BC.

⁴⁸ Copenhagen, 1943.

⁴⁹ Lekythos, Attic BF, Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery, G 600; (BA 300105), ABV 12.22, Para 8, Add² 3; Moraw 1998: pl. 1.1; ABFH, fig. 15. Manner of Gorgon Painter; 600–570 BC.

⁵⁰ Mastoid, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2000; (BA 331562), ABV 557.465, Para 271; Viernesiel 1990: fig. 72.4. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Haimon Painter; 520–500 BC.

⁵¹ Lekythos, Attic BF, Munich, Private collection; (BA 330480), ABV 469.71; Add¹ 117; Keuls 1993: fig. 161. Cock Group; 550–530 BC.

⁵² Kyathos, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1952; (BA 31981); Viernesiel 1990: 407, fig. 72.3. 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵³ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1525; (BA 1483); CVA, Deutschland 37, München 8, pl. 399.2, 400.2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Munich 1529; 540–520 BC.

⁵⁴ Hamburg, 1970.99.

⁵⁵ See above Berkeley, 8.3379.

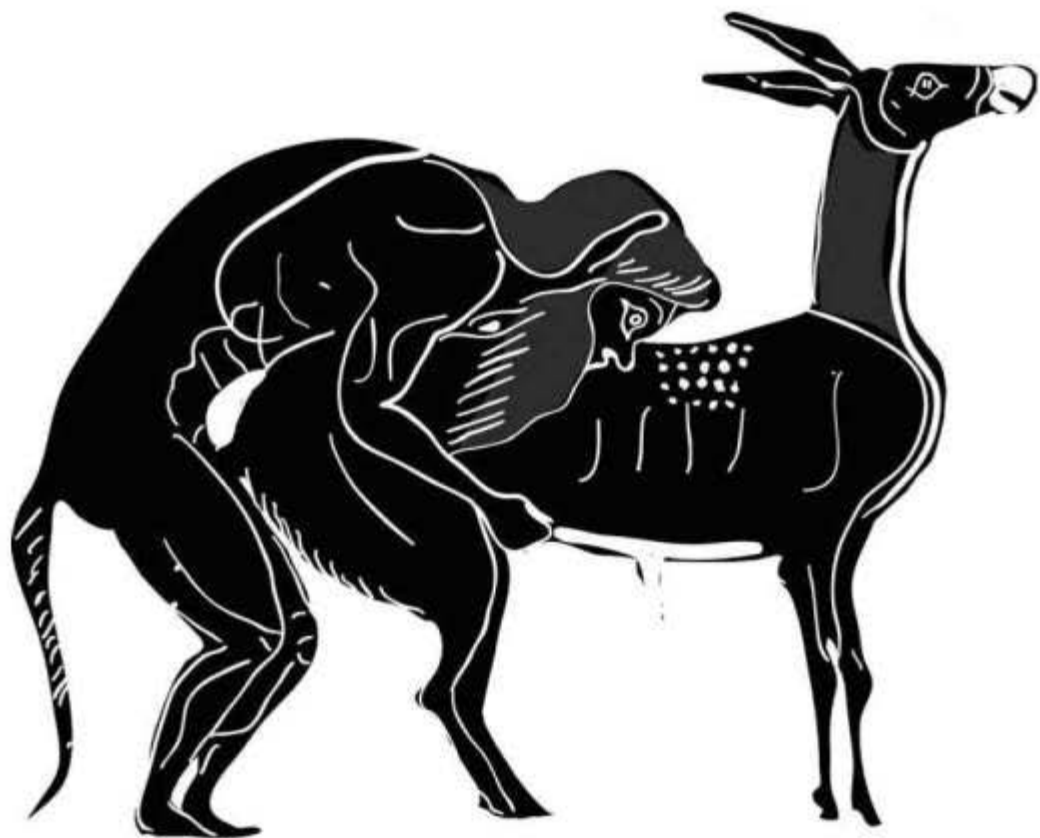


Figure 78. *Satyr copulating with a doe*. Kyathos, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1952; 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

an eye are very similar in shape. He has traded the decorative function and meaning of the eyes for two wineskins. Only satyrs, because of their deep-seated gluttony for wine, could perform such a comical transformation.

Rape of the Sphinx On a red-figure cup in Berlin (fig. 79),¹⁶ five satyrs revel in sexual acrobatics. On both sides of the scene, two sphinxes are facing the handles. One of their paws is raised, as is usual for decorative sphinxes. The fifth satyr, on the right, turns his back on his companions. Grabbing his erect penis in his right hand, he is about to assault the sphinx on the right as if it were a living creature playing a part in the scene. But the viewer knows, from other pictures, that this is impossible. Unlike scenes involving Oedipus or the old Theban citizens in which a sphinx is set inside the frame,¹⁷ the sphinxes on the cup in Berlin are used to frame the scene and cannot take part in its

¹⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1964.4; (BA 275638), ARV² 1700, *Para* 334, *Add*² 177; Stewart 1997: fig. 122. Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. Photograph © bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.

¹⁷ Hydria, Attic RF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum antikenabteilung, ZA20 (on loan from Tokyo, private collection of Mr. Takuhiko Fujita); (BA 7239); Moret 1984: pl. 90.1–2. Manner of Leningrad Painter; 480–460 BC.



Figure 79. *Satyr trying to rape an 'ornamental' sphinx*. Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1964.4; Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. Photograph © bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.

narrative. A red-figure cup in London⁵⁸ displays the same decorative sphinxes, framing a scene in which a man stands between two horses. The painter could have substituted the sphinxes for two columns or palmettes without affecting the narrative of the scene. The motif is known since the black-figure technique, as on a cup from the London market,⁵⁹ which shows a similar use of sphinxes. Of course, satyrs are lustful creatures, but what makes this situation truly comical is the overstatement of the satyr's already excessive randiness. He is so excited that he confounds a statuesque decorative figure for a living 'female' creature, standing passively in the scene, ready for him to rape. What is more, while satyrs often try to rape male or female figures indiscriminately, this is one of the rare depictions in which a sphinx is in danger of being assaulted by one of Dionysos's bestial followers. The humour is based on the painter's playful transformation of the conceptual limits that exist between what is framed and what frames the scene. Satyrs are shown over and over again playing comically with different levels of understanding.

Holding onto Decorative Ivy Two large staring eyes are shown on both sides of a black-figure neck-amphora in London.⁶⁰ A satyr, shown frontally below one of the

⁵⁸ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1920.6–13.1; (BA 200698), ARV² 88.1, 1625, *Add* 84, *Add*² 170; ARFHI, fig. 102. From Italy, Capua; Euergides Painter (Euergides Potter by signature); 515–500 BC.

⁵⁹ Cup, Attic BF, London market; (BA), Sotheby's, Sale catalogue (13–14.12.1990) no. 238.

⁶⁰ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B264; (BA 320322), ABV 288.19, *Add*² 75; LIMC 5, s.v. 'Hephaistos' 157d; CVA, London, British Museum 4, III.He.9, pl. 65.1a–d; Korshak 1977: cat. 56. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Group of Würzburg 199; 530–520 BC.



Figure 80. *Satyr holding the eyebrow of an 'ornamental' large eye*. Nikosthenic Neck-Amphora, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R388; Nikosthenes Painter (by signature); 540–520 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the Museum.

handles, is crouching between the two eyes. He carries a wineskin on his back and holds a branch of ivy with his right hand. The satyr is playing with the ivy decoration of the vase. When ivy is used as a decorative motif, it is easily distinguishable from the branches of ivy that are often held by Dionysos, satyrs, and maenads on countless vases. On another black-figure amphora in London,⁶¹ a crouching satyr clutches the ends of two branches of ivy in his right hand whilst leaning against an eye with his left hand so as to keep his balance. On a black-figure amphora in Copenhagen and another in Adolphseck,⁶² a satyr tries to bring together the ends of two branches of ivy, which in fact serve as a decoration under the large eyes. Finally, on an amphora in Brussels (fig. 80),⁶³ a satyr is shown running between two large decorative eyes on both sides of the vase. In a startling visual pun, he is holding on tightly to the eyebrows of the 'eyes'. The satyr is being used as a comical agent so as to despoil the usual iconography and become a translation agent

⁶¹ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B266; (BA 320129), ABV 273.118, 275.1; CVA, London British Museum 4, III.H.9, pl. 65.2a–d. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Antimenes Painter; 530–510 BC.

⁶² Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 4759; (BA 320149), ABV 293.6, 275.3, *Para* 127 *Add.* 76; CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 3, pl. 107.1a–c. Psiax; 530–500 BC. See also neck-amphora, Attic BF, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 3; (BA 306590), ABV 278.34bis, 692, *Para* 122; CVA, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, pls. 5.1–3, 9.1. Manner of Antimenes Painter; 530–510 BC.

⁶³ Nikosthenic neck-amphora, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R388; (BA 302760), ABV 217.11; CVA, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire 1, III.H.e.4, pl. 12.1a–d; Tosto 1999: pl. 88.4; Mitchell 2007: fig. 7. Nikosthenes Painter (by signature); 540–520 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the museum.

between different categories of representations. Other figures that play with the decoration other than human or satyrs are *erotes*, or winged youths.⁶⁴

Nikosthenes Epoiesen! The latter vase described above was a so-called Nikosthenic amphora. Tosto (1999) devoted a whole book to vases signed 'Nikosthenes *epoiesen*' for a number of reasons, among which is their specific shape, technique, and place of discovery. But there is more to this inscription than meets the eye. Although the inscription is found on a number of vases in a 'normal' area of the vase, as on a cup in Hamburg (fig. 5),⁶⁵ on a few the inscription is clearly part of the painted narrative. On each side of a 'Nikosthenic amphora' in Malibu,⁶⁶ a seated man between two large eyes holds onto the right decorative eye's eyebrow. The difference between this vase and the preceding one is that the inscription 'Nikosthenes epoiesen' seems to come from the figure's mouth. Normally, inscriptions that start from a figure either give the figure's name or indicate that the figure is saying something that is clear from the inscription. The fact is that the signature of the potter or painter(s) rarely start from a figure. Yet, a vase-painting in Karlsruhe (fig. 81)⁶⁷ shows two naked men arguing with much gesturing. The inscription coming from the gesturing man on the left reads 'Nikosthenes epoiesen', 'Nikosthenes made it'. It seems that they are arguing over the identity of the artisan who made the vase. This, then, is an excellent example of a visual pun based on the 'misuse' of the inscription's spatial position. A neck-amphora in Athens⁶⁸ shows satyrs and maenads dancing, as well as a dancing ram whose feet are in the air. The ram is singing 'Nikosthenes epoiesen'. A vase in Münster shows three winged figures, one of which is saying 'Nikosthenes epoiesen'.

This spatial use of an inscription for humorous purposes is a visual speciality. Not only does it show the way humour corrupts visual boundaries and norms, but it brings visual and verbal humour together in an unexpected way.

Misused Objects

Donkeys, Penises, and Wine Jugs In Greek vase-painting, the 'reign of the phallus' (Keuls 1993) is probably the most appropriate way to describe the vases described next. Objects are shown hanging from erect penises, and in other scenes some objects are even sexually penetrated. Earlier we have seen satyrs raping a horse, a doe, and even mules and donkeys. But there are other unusual aspects to the Dionysian donkey.

⁶⁴ Nikosthenic neck-amphora, Attic BF, Münster, Wilhelms-Universität, Archäologisches Museum, 20. See also column-krater, Attic RF, London market; Christies 16.7.86, lot 141. And astragalos, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 866; (BA 202749), ARV² 264.67, 1610, 1641, *Para* 351, *Add* 102, *Add* 205; CVA, Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 1, ILL.C.3, pls. 1.1–2, 2.1–2. From Italy, Falerii; Syriskos; 480–460 BC.

⁶⁵ Hamburg, 1970.99.

⁶⁶ Nikosthenic neck-amphora, Attic BF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 68.AE.19; (BA 340404), ABV 222.464, *Para* 106, *Add* 58; (Tosto 1999: pl. 92.14). Nikosthenes Painter (by signature); 540–520 BC.

⁶⁷ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 64.52; (BA 4706), ABV 216 *Para* 104, *Add* 26; CVA, Deutschland 60, Karlsruhe 3, pl. 10.1, pl. 11.3; Mitchell 2007: fig. 12. Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁶⁸ Nikosthenic Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Athens, Kanelloupolous; (BA 3861), ABV 216.4ter, *Para* 105, *Add* 57; BCH 101 (1977) fig. 23. Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC.



Figure 81. *Men arguing on who made the vase*. Neck-Amphora, Attic BF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 64.52; Nikosthenes Potter; 540–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

The *Return of Hephaistos* is shown on a black-figure neck-amphora in London.⁶⁹ An oinochoe is clearly identifiable hanging from the erect penis of a donkey. This is very often the case in scenes of the *Return of Hephaistos*. The context of course is wine. It is Dionysos's wine that brought Hephaistos back to the Olympus. Satyrs usually accompany Hephaistos, and wine is carried in, and often drunk from, wineskins. There is no satisfactory explanation for this hanging oinochoe. The joke must have run thin after so many vases⁷⁰ were depicted in this way but the context is nevertheless joyful and somewhat humorous. Hephaistos was completely drunk when he was brought back to the Olympus. Indeed, on some vases he is shown so drunk that he sits on the mule facing the wrong way. The hanging oinochoe is yet another reminder of the importance of wine in the narration of this scene, but its incongruous location is comical.

Which Flute is This? A comparable series of pictures show satyrs with *aulos*-cases hanging from their erect penises. 'The analogy between the two 'instruments' so difficult to control is inescapable' (P. Wilson 1999: 72). On a plate in Paris (fig. 82),⁷¹ a satyr wears

⁶⁹ London, B264; See also neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 1522; (BA 320260), *ABV* 283.1, *Add*¹ 74; *CVA*, Deutschland 37, München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 8, pl. 422.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Near Group of Toronto 305; 530–520 BC.

⁷⁰ See, for example, a column-krater, Attic RF, London market (Christies); (BA 202245), *ARV*² 237.11, *Para* 348. Chairippos Painter; 490–470 BC.

⁷¹ Plate, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 509; (BA 200618), *ARV*² 77.91, *Para* 328, *Add*¹ 169; (Lissarrague 1987: fig. 6; Mitchell 2007: fig. 10). From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See Callipolitis-Feytmans, D. (1976) *Les Plats Attiques à Figures Noires*. E.F.A. Paris.



Figure 82. Satyr playing aulos with aulos-sac hanging off his erect penis. Plate, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 509; Epiktetos (by signature); 520-490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

an aulos-case on his erect penis. A red-figure cup in Florence⁷² shows a satyr holding a wineskin in his left hand, a rhyton in his right, and an aulos-case on his erect penis. The painter could have made the aulos-case hang off the satyr's arm as is often the case of 'normal' or even satyric figures playing the aulos.⁷³ The satyr's hands are full, thus he uses his erect member as an 'aulos-case hanger'. On a red-figure cup in Berlin,⁷⁴ a satyr wears

⁷² Cup, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4B19; (BA 200932), ARV² 108.29, Add¹ 173, CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.L.5, III.L.8, III.L.15, pls. 4.19-41-2, 6.23, 12.13-43; From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Kachrylion Potter (by signature); 520-500 BC.

⁷³ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 782; (BA 213579), ARV² 1047.10, Add¹ 156, Add² 320; CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 16, pl. 113.1-2, Christie Painter; 440-430 BC.

⁷⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3251; (BA 200964), ARV² 113.7, 1592, 1626, Para 322, Add¹ 86, Add² 173; CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.L.4, III.L.8, pls. 1.49-58, 6.24; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 2, pls. 56.4, 57.1-2, 58.1-4, 59.1-4; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, pls. 122.1-3, 134.2; Peschel 1987, pl. 29, From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Thaba Painter; 520-500 BC.



Figure 83. *Satyr penetrating an amphora*. Cup, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, V651; Skythes; 520–505 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

but their faces never. Are they satyrs disguised as citizens, or citizens disguised as satyrs? A few scholars have interpreted some of these draped satyrs as men initiated in Dionysian rituals either wearing masks or transformed into satyrs.⁸¹ Most of their evidence draws on a passage in Plato (*Phaed.*, 69c) 'many carry the thyrsos, but few are Bacchants'. Other vases almost certainly relate to Dionysiac cults, such as most of the mask-on-pillar depictions⁸² and some others.⁸³ These vases may sometimes show women, maenads, and

R. H. (1993) *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*. Madison: figs. 46–9, Nekyia Painter; 440–420 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1442; (BA 217123); ARV² 1261.54; Lezzi-Hafter, A. (1988) *Der Eretrio-Maler. Werke und Wegefahrten*. Mainz: pl. 69, cat. 90. From Italy, Ruvo; Calliope Painter; 430–410 BC. See pelike, Attic RF, London market, Sotheby's; (BA 140005); ARV² 1218.2, Para 465. Class of Vienna 779; 430–410 BC. And Nolan amphora, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E335; (BA 13286); CVA, London, British Museum 3, III.1c.9, pl. 65.1a–b. See pelike, Attic RF, Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, 30.155; (BA 275156); ARV² 286.12bis, 1642, Add² 209; *Prospettiva Rivista dell'Arti Antica e Moderna* 24 (Siena 1981) fig. 8, Geras Painter; 510–490 BC. And pelike, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 281; (BA 202592); ARV² 286.21; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, pl. 19.2–3. From Sicily, Sirignano; Geras Painter; 510–490 BC. And cup, Attic RF, Dunedin, Orago Museum, E48.232; (BA 205964); ARV² 527.80; *JHS* 71 fig. 8, Orchard Painter; 470–460 BC. See chous, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E532; (BA 3405); (Beck 1975: pl. 17.89). From Rhodes, Camiros; 420–410 BC. And pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Rothschild Collection; (BA 206010); ARV² 531.34, Para 383. From Rhodes; Alkimachos Painter; 470–460 BC.

⁸¹ See Bérard 1984 and Bron 1984.

⁸² See Frickenhaus 1912; Wrede 1928; and Frontisi-Ducroux 1982, 1989.

⁸³ Calyx-kraater, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2390; (BA 218275); ARV² 1456.3, 1461, Add² 170; (Bérard 1984: fig. 191). LC Group; 360–340 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico

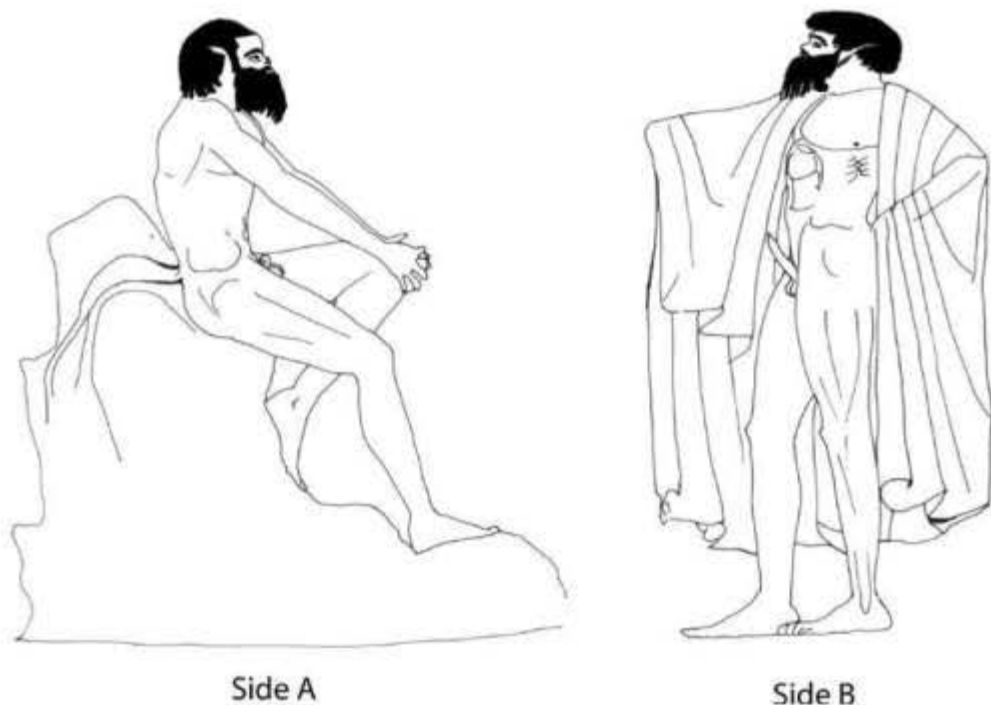


Figure 84. *Satyr-orator and satyr-audience*. Pelike, Attic RF, Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure, 1150. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

naked satyrs but rarely, if ever, draped satyrs at the mask-on-pillar. Most draped satyrs, referred to as bacchants by some scholars such as Bérard and Vernant (1984) and Bron (1984), would be wearing satyr masks as a sign of their initiation. There is no literary or iconographic proof, however, that satyr masks were used in 'Dionysian rituals' as they were in satyr plays. These so-called bacchants are more likely to be satyrs used to parody different aspects of everyday life in the Polis. In most of these scenes, they do not seem to act as satyrs are usually expected to; they seem quite dignified. They are mimicking citizens. I will discuss the use of satyrs first in parodies of Athenians' duties and leisure, and second in parodies of artisans and servants.

Duties and Leisure

Politics On a pelike in Genoa (fig. 84),⁸⁴ a satyr is seated on a rock. His penis's foreskin is tethered. He faces a draped satyr. The first satyr's attitude is relaxed; his hands are clasped around his left knee to avoid rocking backwards. He sits upright and is attentive

Etrusco, 3914; (BA 209522), ARV² 769.4, Add² 287, Para 415; CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 4, III.L.17–18, pls. 149.1, 159.4; (Bron 1984: 146, fig. 2). Painter of Florence 3968; 490–470 BC.

⁸⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure, 1150; (BA 202991), ARV² 262.37; CVA, Italia 19, Museo Civico di Genova-Pegli 1, pl. 2.1–2; Mitchell 2004: 18a–b. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 85. *Orator on platform and bystander*. Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G222; Harrow Painter; 510–470 BC. Scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 130.

to the other satyr's movements and speech. The speaker's head is tilted slightly backwards as if he were searching for inspiration. He keeps his left hand on his hip while making a sweeping gesture with his right arm, inadvertently uncovering his huge erection. These two satyrs appear to be parodying an orator and his audience. A neck-amphora in Paris (fig. 85)⁸¹ shows a man with one arm draped in his mantle, standing on a podium. In front of him, a listener is leaning on his cane in the 'usual' bystander attitude on vases. As there are no musicians present at the scene, the man on the podium is not singing, as may be the case on some other vases where the presence of an *aulētēs* or a kitharist is noted. What is more, his particular stance, the arm wrapped in the mantle, finds many parallels elsewhere. A statue of Aeschines⁸² shows the orator with his arm wrapped in a mantle. According to Aeschines himself (*In Tim.* 25) referring to the time of Pericles, 'it was considered a moral failing to move the arm freely, as is common nowadays, and for this reason speakers did their best to avoid it'. In the same passage, he even refers to a statue of Solon in the Agora of Salamis who kept his arm hidden beneath his mantle. Solon's statue and a similar statue erected in honour of Aeschines were probably the reasons why Demosthenes (*De Cor.* 129) mocked Aeschines, saying that he stood like a 'handsome statue before the Assembly'. According to Zanker: 'the orator was expected to demonstrate extreme modesty and self-control in his appearances before the Assembly, and particularly to avoid any kind of demonstrative gestures' (1995: 45). He adds (1995: 49) that 'the motif of one arm wrapped in the cloak had been a topos of the Athenian citizen since the fifth century and would continue into late antiquity, both in art and in life, as a visual symbol of *sophrosynē*'. Our satyrs on the neck-amphora in Genoa are pretending to be what they cannot be: citizens of the Athenian Polis. While the seated and comically sexually tethered satyr is striking the correct pose, the other has lost his self-control and

⁸¹ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G222; (BA 202843), ARV² 272.7; scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 130. Harrow Painter; 510–470 BC.

⁸² Marble statue, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale; Zanker 1995: 46, fig. 26.

his temporary *sophrosynē* (ethical and moral correctness) in the excitement of oratory. By making sweeping gestures and drawing the attention of the viewer to his erect penis, he is unwittingly underlining his satyric nature. Vase painters, just like Aristophanes in so many of his plays, mock in their own fashion the democratic process.

Conversing citizens may sometimes make large gestures with one arm, as figures on a stamnos in Frankfurt,⁸⁷ but they keep their other arm well hidden beneath their mantles and remain draped. There are many vases that display draped satyrs standing, running, or dancing alone in the tondo;⁸⁸ some may be leaning on a staff or conversing with a youth, as on a chous in London.⁸⁹ They are probably visual puns playing on the thousands of 'normal' depictions of citizens, often seen leaning on a staff, standing alone, or discussing with youths. Satyrs pretending to be trainers or athletes are discussed further on. Some draped satyrs, which seem at first to be parodies of conversing citizens, could well be parodies of pedagogues punishing their pupils. On one side of a skyphos in Bari,⁹⁰ a draped satyr holds his cane upwards as if about to strike the youth depicted on the other side, as on a skyphos in Sèvres.⁹¹ The context is difficult to identify. Two draped satyrs depicted on a skyphos in Laon⁹² are set in a sportive environment: a sponge and a strigil are suspended above the first figure. The satyr leaning on his staff is probably a parody of a citizen walking about the palaestra, as the satyr on a pelike from the London market.⁹³ The other draped satyr, however, is seated and holds his stick upwards like the satyr on the skyphos in Bari; he might also be a pedagogue.

Hunting, War, and the Banquet Hunting, as well as athletics, in ancient Greece prepared young men for war. Hunters are often shown as noble men riding horses. To find cowardly half-animal creatures such as satyrs hunting is comical indeed. To see them riding atop noble horses, as on a cup in Munich,⁹⁴ is absurd. But they usually pose as hunters rather than hunt courageously: for example, a satyr attacks a trapped and wounded fox with a huge club on an askos in Oxford.⁹⁵ Satyrs do not have *technē* (craftsmanship); they do not possess human knowledge. That is why they hunt in an immature or childish fashion. On a cup in Paris,⁹⁶ a satyr, shown in a rocky landscape, is pulling an animal by the tail; and on a number of askoi,⁹⁷ a satyr crouches on all fours trying to

⁸⁷ Stamnos, Attic RF, Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, B411; (BA 352510), *Para* 352; CVA, Deutschland 30, Frankfurt Am Main 2, pl. 74.1. Syriskos Painter; 480–460 BC.

⁸⁸ London, E335. See also cup fr., Attic BF, Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina, 2606; (BA 10352); CVA, Orvieto, Museo Civico Claudio Faina 1, pls. 21.1–3, 26.4. Caylus Painter; 510–500 BC. And cup, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 152; (BA 12149); CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, pl. 22.1–2, 420–400 BC.

⁸⁹ London, E532.

⁹⁰ Bari, R150.

⁹¹ Sèvres, 217.

⁹² Laon, 37.1033.

⁹³ London market, Sotheby's; (BA 340005).

⁹⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2606; (BA 200535), ARV² 64.107, 1622, *Add* 166; Vierneisel 1990: fig. 71.6a–b. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Olto; 525–500 BC.

⁹⁵ Oxford, 539.

⁹⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G636; Portier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 159.

⁹⁷ Askos fr., Attic RF, Basel, Antikensammlung und Sammlung Ludwig, BS1921.377; (BA 6091); CVA, Switzerland 7, Basel 3, pl. 28.6–7. See also askos, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2544; (BA 11371);

coax an animal, painted on the other side, to approach him. By so doing, the satyr loses the little amount of humanness he might have possessed.

Although the motif is well represented in vase-painting, there is nothing especially comical about Dionysos waging war on the Giants.⁹⁸ Nor is it particularly amusing when satyrs, in the guise of squires, assist their master Dionysos, arming him.⁹⁹ However, with few exceptions,¹⁰⁰ when satyrs arm themselves for war, and even apart from the context of *Gigantomachies*, one may question whether they are to be taken seriously. On a cup fragment once in Munich,¹⁰¹ a satyr carrying a *pelta*,¹⁰² a footman's light shield, is seen running away from combat. On a pelike in London (fig. 86),¹⁰³ a satyr is also shown putting on arms, as is another satyr who has already fitted his helmet, and is attaching the greaves to his legs on a neck-amphora in Harrow.¹⁰⁴ A maenad, thyrsos in hand, is carrying his leopard skin. This is clearly a comical parallel to the usual scenes of heroes or anonymous warriors arming themselves with the help of a goddess or a woman (fig. 87).¹⁰⁵ Other vases show satyrs instead of the expected horses pulling chariots,¹⁰⁶ or wielding phallos-lances instead of thyrsoi.¹⁰⁷ Similarly shown on three separate vases are

CVA, Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2, 31, pls. 100.5, 101.2, 440–430 BC. Askos, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2545; (BA 11370); Viernseil 1990: 404, fig. 71.9, 430–410 BC. Askos, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 330; (BA 13276); CVA, Great Britain 3, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, pl. 45.6. From Cyprus, Arsinoe; 410–400 BC.

⁹⁸ See Vian 1951, 1952.

⁹⁹ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 391; (BA 202621), ARV² 286.15; Lissarrague 1984: 113, fig. 5. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

¹⁰⁰ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T300; (BA 213529), ARV² 1041.6, 1679, Add 156, Add 319, Para 443; Matheson, S. B. (1995) *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens*, Madison: 196, pls. 133a–b. From Italy, Spina; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC. See also neck-amphora, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.19; (BA 352401), ARV² 20.3bis, Add 74, Add 154, Para 323.3bis; Boardman 2000: fig. 119, Smikros (by signature); 510–500 BC.

¹⁰¹ Cup fr., Attic RF, Munich (Once), Antikensammlung; (BA 203884), ARV² 367.92, Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC.

¹⁰² Cup, Attic RF, Columbia, University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archeology, 75.81; (BA 7978); Overby, O. (ed.), (1982) *Guide to the Collections in the Museum, University of Missouri-Columbia*, Missouri: no. 36. Epiktetos; 520–490 BC. See cup fr., Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4B48; (BA 201102), ARV² 133.11; CVA, Italia 8, Florence, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.5, pl. 4.48. Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Avignon, 564 (352366); (BA 352366), Para 315; Cavalier, O. (ed.), (1997) *Silence et Fureur, La Femme et le Mariage en Grèce, Les Antiquités Grecques du Musée Calvet*, Avignon: fig. 76. Campana Painter; 510–490 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P2578; (BA 201242), ARV² 142.1. From Greece, Athens Agora; Painter of Agora P2578; 510–490 BC. See cup fr., Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G89; ARV² 170.3; CVA, France 28, Louvre 19, pl. 56.1.

¹⁰³ Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E377; (BA 205622), ARV² 301.35, Para 381; LIMC VIII, pl. 768, s.v. 'Silenos' 133. From Italy, Nola; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁰⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Harrow, School Museum, 55; (BA 201664), ARV² 183.11, Add 93, Add 187, Para 340; CVA, Harrow, Museum, pls. 13.1–2, 14.1–2; LIMC VIII, pl. 769, s.v. 'Silenos' 132. Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.

¹⁰⁵ Lekythos, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 2364; (BA 214296), ARV² 1021.115; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler et al. 1904: 16, F49, pl. 66.1. Phaulx Painter; 440–430 BC.

¹⁰⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 37.17; (BA 201096), ARV² 133.4; CVA, Great Britain 11, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 2, 56, pls. 6.2a–b, 8.5, 9.8. Nikosthenes painter; 540–520 BC.

¹⁰⁷ Skyphos, Attic RF, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 11; (BA 205763), ARV² 513.3, Add 252; Shefold, K. (1981) *Die Göttersage in der Klassischen und Hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich: 98, figs. 128–9. Painter of Bologna 228; 470–460 BC. See neck-amphora, Attic RF, Düsseldorf, Hetjens-Museum, 1955.1; (BA 7202); CVA Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf und Krefeld und Neuss 1, pl. 15.1–4. Painter of the Yale



Figure 86. Maenad helping a satyr to arm himself. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E377; Deepdene Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

men dressed in *chitōns* wielding staffs terminated by a phallus with an eye. On a fragment in Athens,¹⁰⁸ a man wearing an erect phallos on his forehead and dressed with a long *chitōn* decorated with ivy leaves holds in his right hand a staff with a penis gland-ending.

Oinochoe; 470–460 BC. See skyphos, Attic RF, Thebes, Archaeological Museum, R22.8; (BA 204074), ARV² 381.177, Add² 227; CVA, Thebes, Archaeological Museum, pl. 74.1–2; (Lissarrague 1990b: 155, fig. 88). From Greece, Boeotia, Rhitsona; Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC. See cup fr., Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP11255; (BA 201103), ARV² 133.10, Add² 177; CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 1, III.3, III.1.23, pls. 4.28.44–5; 20.35. Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Once Rome Market; (BA 201447), ARV² 155.44. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Painter of Berlin 1268; 500–480 BC. See column-krater, Attic RF, Italian Market; (BA 202548), ARV² 281.39bis. Flying-Angel Painter; 500–490 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.95; (BA 204377), ARV² 403.36; From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Foundry Painter; 480–470 BC.
¹⁰⁸ Stemless Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.702; (BA 202154), ARV² 213.238, Add² 196; (Gräf and Langlotz 1933: pl. 54.702a–b); Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC.



Figure 87. *Woman helping a warrior to arm himself*. Lekythos, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 2564; Phiale Painter; 440–430 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler *et al.* 1904: 16, F49, pl. 66.1.

He could be a priest performing a ritual in a Dionysiac ceremonial. Another vase¹⁰⁹ shows a bearded and balding man dressed in a long *chiton*, holding a staff with a penis gland-ending and an eye, catching a pig by the hind leg.

In *Gigantomachies*, Dionysos often wields his magical kantharos (Lissarrague 1984: 114). It is a terrifying weapon against which the giants are defenceless.¹¹⁰ On a mug in

¹⁰⁹ Pelike fr., Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G472; (BA 206333); *Classical Antiquity* 12 (1993) fig. 5 at p. 266; Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 150. Pan Painter; 480–460 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.296; (BA 212189), ARV² 837.10, *Add* 145, *Add* 837.10; *MuM* 1980, *Auktion* (56) 45, no. 103; *LIMC* VIII, pl. 225, s.v. 'Zeus' 107; CVA, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum 8, pls. 441.1–2, 442.1–2. Sabouroff Painter; 440–430 BC.

¹¹⁰ Stamnos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E443; (BA 203003), ARV² 292.29, *Add* 210, *Para* 356; CVA, London, British Museum 3, III.Lc.8, pl. 21.3a–c; Lissarrague 1984: 114, fig. 2a. Tyszkiewicz Painter; 510–490 BC.

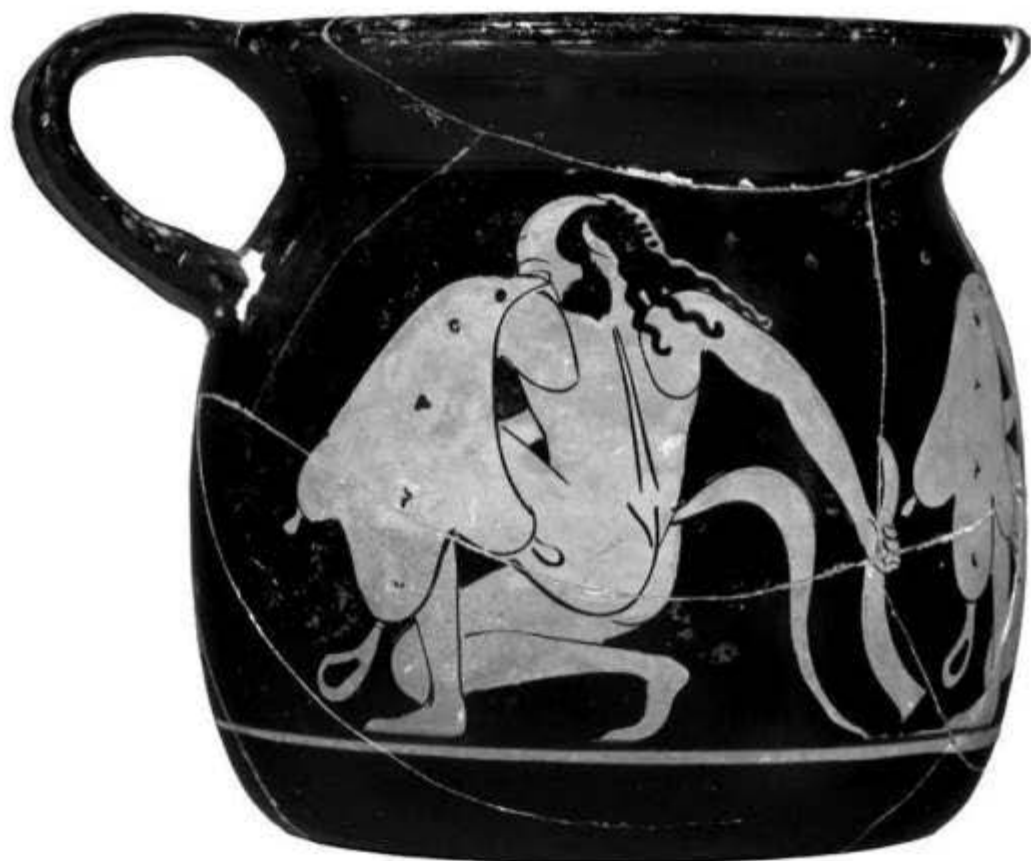


Figure 88. *Satyr-warriors using wineskins and wine horns instead of peltai and swords*. Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA3456; Epiktetos; ca. 500 BC. (C) RMN / © Hervé Lewandowski.

Paris (fig. 88),¹¹¹ three satyrs, kneeling in single file, lay in ambush. They hold their wineskins in front of them as shields and hold their drinking horns like swords. Another mug in Paris¹¹² displays a similar scene, except for the nature of the figures and their shields: these warriors also kneel in a single line but they carry *peltai* as foot soldiers usually do. On a cup in Cambridge and another in Paris,¹¹³ three warriors lay in ambush in a similar fashion. They carry *hopla* and spears. Through such visual tricks, satyrs move through different worlds, like war and banquet in the same pictures. This paradox is well illustrated on a cup in London (fig. 89)¹¹⁴ where, on one side, an ithyphallic satyr is

¹¹¹ Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA3456; (BA 20094); Lissarrague 1984: 117, fig. 13. Epiktetos; ca. 500 BC. (C) RMN/© Hervé Lewandowski.

¹¹² Mug, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G102; (BA 201456), ARV² 156.52, Add² 181; Lissarrague 1990b: 167, fig. 92. Painter of Berlin 2268; 500–480 BC.

¹¹³ Cup, Attic RF, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR18.1937; (BA 202293), ARV² 231.76, Add 99, Add² 200; CVA, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 2, pls. 7.1a–b, 8.8, 9.7; Bérard 1984: fig. 58. Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G25; (BA 203243), ARV² 1592, 316.5, Add 106, Add² 214; Stahler, K. (1992) *Griechische Geschichtsbilder Klassischer Zeit*. Münster: 63, fig. 17. From Italy, Chiusi; Proto-Panettian Group; 510–500 BC.

¹¹⁴ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E3; (BA 200309), ARV² 45.102, 70.3, 1623, Add 77, Add² 160; *LJMC* VIII, pl. 770, s.v. 'Silenoi' 154. Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 89. Satyr going to war with wine horn and shield and another with a wine jug, shield, and trumpet. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E3; Epiktetos (by signature); 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

carrying a *pelta* but has not forgotten to bring also his drinking horn. On the other side, another ithyphallic satyr carrying a *pelta* is blowing a trumpet while fleeing to the left. Like his counterpart, he does not forget to bring his oinochoe to battle. On an alabastron in Providence,¹¹¹ a satyr carries a wineskin in front of him in one hand and a *pelta* in his other. He turns back to look at a pointed amphora laying on the ground. He seems to hesitate: will he discard his shield (*ripsaspis*) to pick up the amphora? Such an action would constitute a most serious offence as far as the Athenian soldier's rules of conduct are concerned (*Lys.* 10.12), but apparently not in the Dionysian world, as we know from Aristophanes (*Nub.* 352–3) when he mocks Kleonymos, the shield-discarder.¹¹² A satyr is pursuing a maenad on a kyathos in Paris (fig. 90).¹¹³ The maenad holds a thyrsos and snakes are coiled around her wrists. The satyr holds his wine horn like a bow and arrow, as another satyr on a neck-amphora in Parma.¹¹⁴ The visual pun is quite obvious, in the shape of the rhyton and the way in which the satyr holds it, when both scenes are compared to human archers holding their bows (fig. 91).¹¹⁵ On a cup in Berlin,¹¹⁶ a satyr is

¹¹¹ Alabastron, Attic RF, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, 25.073; (BA 203494), ARV² 157.88; CVA, Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design 1, pl. 17.3a–c. From Greece; Painter of Berlin 2268; 500–480 BC.

¹¹² On the subject of the cowardly hoplite, see Christ, M. R. (2006) *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 88–142.

¹¹³ Kyathos, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 848; (BA 203390), ARV² 2329.135; *Add.* 217; Ridder 1902: 499–500. Onesimos; 505–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹¹⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Parma, C1; (BA 3351); CVA, Italia 45, Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità 1, pl. 1.1–2, 2.1–3, 3.1–3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Tyszkiewicz Painter; 510–490 BC.

¹¹⁵ Skyphos, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2588; (BA 216788), ARV² 1300.1, *Add.* 360, *Para.* 475; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, pl. 34.1–4; ARFH II, fig. 246; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler *et al.* 1904: pl. 138.2. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Penelope Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹¹⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2270; (BA 212304); ARV² 455.3, *Add.* 243, 310, *Para.* 377; CVA, Deutschland 21, Berlin, Antiquarium 2, pl. 92.1–2, 94.1. Thorvaldsen Group; 510–490 BC.



Figure 90. *Satyr using a wine horn as a bow and arrow.* Kyathos, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 848; Onesimos; 505–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 91. *Odysseus with bow and arrow against the suiters.* Skyphos, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2588; Penelope Painter; 440–420 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 138.2.

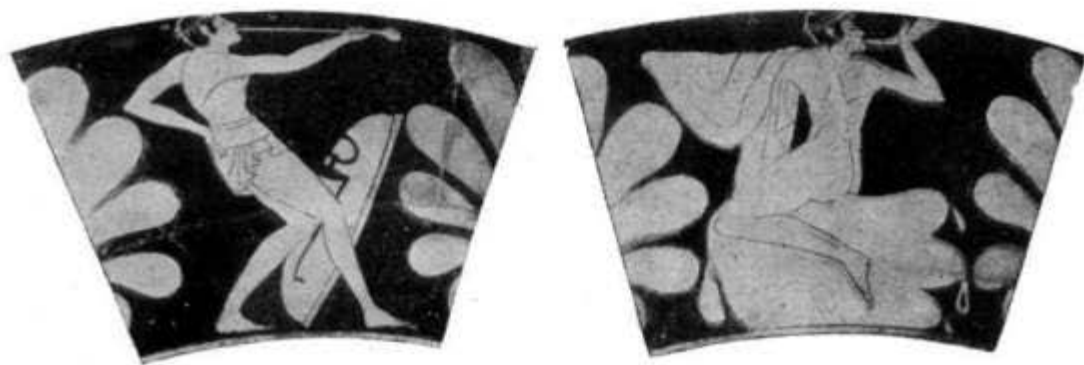


Figure 92. Side A Man at war; side B Parody of a knight riding a wineskin and blowing into a wine horn. Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G70; Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC. Scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 2, pl. 97.G70a–b.

fleeing with a wineskin on his back as if it were a *pelta*. On a cup in Athens,¹²¹ another satyr is holding a *pelta* in the middle of a balancing act on a wineskin.

The comical parallel between warrior and drinker exists also in non-satyrical scenes. On a cup in Paris (fig. 92),¹²² a naked youth riding a wineskin as he would ride a horse brings a drinking horn to his mouth. His cheeks are puffed: he is not drinking but blowing into his rhyton. On the other side of the same vase, a young warrior standing beside a large *hoplon* is blowing into a trumpet. Aristophanes (*Pax* 1240–4) cracks a joke about a war trumpet used as a target for a game of *kottabos*. The visual parallel is evidently a humorous combination of heterogeneous elements by the painter. Among a few other similar representations, as on a mug in Basel,¹²³ one young reveller is dancing and another is playing with a skyphos, while a third reveller, having folded his himation over his left arm like a hunter's *chlamys*, kneels down with a stick in his right hand. His stance is almost a replica of that of the three kneeling warriors on the mug in Paris¹²⁴ and those on the cup in Cambridge.¹²⁵

Humans may jest, but they cannot rival satyrs at play. On a cup in Cambridge,¹²⁶ a satyr is riding a chariot drawn by maenads while another is riding a chariot drawn by satyrs. Between the two, a maenad is sounding a trumpet. In the background, a suspended wineskin and a hare indicate respectively the symposium and erotic courtship. War, chariot racing, the symposium, and erotic courtship are all represented in a single

¹²¹ Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P9281; (BA 201101); ARV² 133.9. From Greece, Athens Agora; Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC.

¹²² Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G70; (BA 200397), ARV² 50.187, 169.6, Add² 79, Add² 162, 183, Para 338; CVA, France 17, Paris, Musée du Louvre 10, pl. 22.4–6; scanned photograph, after Pottier 1897: vol. 2, pl. 97.G70a–b. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC.

¹²³ Mug, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 101, pl. 45.4–7. Painter of Berlin 2268; 500–480 BC. See also Mug, Attic RF, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum, 1259; (BA 201395), ARV² 152.9; CVA, Poland 2, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum 1, pl. 10.1a. Akin to the Epeleios Painter; 520–500 BC.

¹²⁴ Paris, Louvre, G102.

¹²⁵ Cambridge, GR18.1937.

¹²⁶ Cambridge, 37.17.

composition. Only satyrs could manage such a comical *tour de force*. On the other side of the cup, satyrs ride wineskins, probably playing at the game of *askoliasmos*. A satyr on a cup in London¹²⁷ is fishing. He is squatting on a rock and pulling up a fish he has caught. His position on the rock is very similar to the one of a youth on a cup in Boston.¹²⁸ The youth is holding a fishing rod, crouching on a rock. An octopus and fishes swim around a wooden fishing trap the youth has placed in the water. A satyr patiently fishing is as implausible an attitude as a satyr hunting with spear and *chlamys*.

Religion On a fragmentary oinochoe in Paris,¹²⁹ a satyr leads an ox to an altar. To the left is a column and its entablature (sanctuary?), and to the far right is an altar, recognisable from the volute and the curve of the block. The ox must be the intended victim because of the fillets attached to its horns, as on a lekythos in Naples¹³⁰ where a satyr in himation leads a goat, which could also be a joke on youths who lead a dog or a cat. The satyr on the oinochoe in Paris is performing a form of sacrifice that epitomizes civic religion for which he is particularly unsuited.

Maenads perform the *sparagmos* and *omophagia*, as on a skyphos in Athens¹³¹ where the maenad is about to tear a doe in pieces, and on an amphora in Paris¹³² where the maenad is holding in each hand half a torn animal. There is a parody of this ritual in the *sparagmos* of a wineskin by a satyr on a cup in Leipzig.¹³³ The opposition between the Dionysiac cult and the City sacrifice followed by the cooking of parts of the victim is a perfect illustration of the dichotomy between a civilisation of the *Raw* and one of the *Cooked*.¹³⁴ The satyr on the oinochoe in Paris¹³⁵ is parodying the typical civic sacrifice. In the tondo of a cup in Berlin,¹³⁶ a draped satyr holds a twig of ivy, one of the attributes of Dionysos and his followers, above an altar. The satyr, disguised as a citizen, is performing a fake civic sacrifice. In usual cup tondi, draped youths at an altar may make a libation

¹²⁷ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E108; (BA 230999), ARV² 1513.43, Add² 384; Beck 1975: pl. 66.338. Jena Painter; 370–350 BC.

¹²⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8024; (BA 201573), ARV² 173.9, Add² 92, Add³ 184; Sweet 1987: 175, pl. 57; Beck 1975: pl. 66.337. From Italy, Orvieto; Ambrosios Painter; 510–500 BC. See also pyxis, Attic RF, Bern, (ex-New Haven (CT), Clairmont); (BA 211249), ARV² 924.35, Add² 149, Add³ 305; Schefold, K. and Jung, E. (1988) *Die Urkonige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der Klassischen und Hellenistischen Kunst*. Munich: figs. 114–17. Wedding Painter; 450–430 BC.

¹²⁹ Oinochoe fr., Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10864; (BA 331003), ABV 573.10, Para 287; Oakley 1997: 132, fig. 18. Painter of the Half-Palmettes; 510–500 BC.

¹³⁰ Lekythos, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81254; (BA 203097), ARV² 302.13; LIMC VIII, s.v. 'Silenoi' 82. From Italy, Locri; Diosphos Potter; 500–490 BC.

¹³¹ Skyphos, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, CC1353; (BA 216547), ARV² 1212, Add² 347, Para 464; *Hesperia* 57 (1988) pls. 50, 52; Mitchell 2000: fig. 9. Shuvalov Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹³² Amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 357; (BA 213822); ARV² 987.2, 1676, Add² 151, Para 437, Add³ 311; (Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 77.1); LIMC VIII, pls. 530–1, s.v. 'Mainades' 38; Mitchell 2000: fig. 8. Achilles Painter; 460–450 BC.

¹³³ Cup fr., Attic RF, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T3589; (BA 211388), ARV² 865.2; CVA, Leipzig, Antikensammlung der Universität 3, pl. 64.1–5; Mitchell 2000: 115–22, pl. 1, fig. 1. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Painter of Athens 1237; 440–430 BC.

¹³⁴ See Lévi-Strauss 1966.

¹³⁵ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 357.

¹³⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2523; (BA 212159), ARV² 835.1; CVA, Deutschland 21, Berlin, Antiquarium 2, pl. 94.2; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 17a. From Italy; Bordeaux Painter; 450–430 BC.

with a phiale¹³⁷ or hold a strigil above the altar.¹³⁸ They may even sacrifice corn,¹³⁹ but never ivy!

We have seen elsewhere how Herms could be mocked.¹⁴⁰ Herms, among many other interpretations of their use and depending on their location, were a promise of fertility for women and virility for older men. On a column-krater in Bologna,¹⁴¹ a 'respectable' woman wearing the *sakkos* and an elderly man, probably her husband, offer their prayers at herms. The man, leaning on his staff, touches the herm's white beard, and the woman brings her hand close to the other hermaic pillar's dark beard.¹⁴² This praying or supplication gesture has been known since the time of the *Iliad* (9.502).¹⁴³ On a pelike in Dresden (fig. 93),¹⁴⁴ a satyr, leaning on a staff and wearing a short *chiton* that partly hides his tail (thus disguising him as a citizen), approaches a herm as the old man does on the krater in Bologna. It is clearly absurd and at the same time comical to see a satyr praying in the hope of an increased virility.

Herms were often found at crossroads and brought good luck to passers-by and travellers. On a column-krater in Geneva,¹⁴⁵ a draped satyr wearing a *petasos* stands before a herm. He is offering the statue a twig of ivy, as the draped satyr in the tondo of the cup in Berlin and other satyrs on other vases.¹⁴⁶ The fact that he is disguised as a traveller makes this scene a parody of a traveller praying for a good journey. On a bell-krater in Warsaw,¹⁴⁷ a draped satyr stands before a herm in the typical citizen's stance.¹⁴⁸ He leans

¹³⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1946.50; (BA 204260), ARV² 394.10. Painter of Munich 2676; 300-480 BC.

¹³⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP11229; (BA 211384), ARV² 865. From Aeolis, Myrina; Pistoxenos Painter; 460-440 BC.

¹³⁹ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G296; (BA 203406), ARV² 331.15, Add² 217; Kephaliou, E. Nikitis, (1996) *Ekonomographiki meleti tou archaiou ellenikou athlitismou*. Thessaloniki: pl. 21.G13. Onesimos; 505-480 BC.

¹⁴⁰ Berlin, F1172. See also pelike, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1966.62; (BA 275276), ARV² 1659.91bis. Add²; Ruckert, B. (1998) *Die Hermen im Öffentlichen und Privaten Leben der Griechen*. Regensburg: fig. 11. Pan Painter; 480-460 BC. See also olpe, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F325; (BA 330141), ABV 448.2; LIMC V, 304, pl. 213, s.v. 'Hermes' 143; after Potrier 1897: vol. 2, pl. 85.F325. Dot-Ivy Group; 550-530 BC. Paris, Louvre, CP10793.

¹⁴¹ Column-krater, Attic RF, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 206; (BA 206078), ARV² 537.12, Add² 125. Add² 255, Para 384; CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 1, III.L.C., III.L.C. 12, pl. 27.1-3; LIMC V, pl. 214, s.v. 'Hermes' 153. From Italy, Bologna; Boreas Painter; 490-470 BC.

¹⁴² Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal, 37.1023; (BA 206308), ARV² 553.33. Add² 257, Para 386, 388; CVA, Laon, Musée Municipal, pls. 26.1-2, 27.1-2; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes' 155. From Italy, Nola; Pan Painter; 480-460 BC. See cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2525; (BA 212518), ARV² 931.4, Add² 306; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, pls. 110.1-2, 111.3-5, 132.1-5; From Seba la Rocca; Curtius Painter; 460-450 BC.

¹⁴³ On the gesture of supplication, see Neuman 1965: 67-72.

¹⁴⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, ZV2535; (BA 206005), ARV² 531.29. 1638, Add² 124, Add² 254; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes' 130-130bis. Alkimachos Painter; 470-460 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁴⁵ Column-krater, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, HR85; (BA 43585); Carpenter et al. 1993: 211, fig. 15. 490-480 BC.

¹⁴⁶ Oxford, 283. See also pelike, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 64.2032; (BA 202577), ARV² 285.2. Add² 104, Add² 209, Para 355; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 5a. Geras Painter; 510-490 BC.

¹⁴⁷ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum, 142355; (BA 213561), ARV² 1045.6, 1562, 1568, Add² 320; CVA, Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski, pl. 24.1a-e; LIMC VIII, pl. 611, s.v. 'Omopion' 5. Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

¹⁴⁸ Compare to the citizen leaning on his cane on a skyphos in Laon (fig. 126). On this motif, see Wehgartner 1989.



Figure 93. *Satyr praying a herm (for a better erection?)*. Pelike, Attic RF, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum, ZV2535; Alkimachos Painter; 470–460 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

on his staff with the other hand on his hip. To the right stands a maenad, her hand on her hip and the other clutching her thyrsos vertically; she is facing another draped satyr leaning lightly on his cane. A satyr on a mug in Copenhagen¹⁴⁹ acts in a more ‘satyr-like way’ than the two draped satyrs on the krater in Warsaw. He is not setting a herm on its base but stealing it. On a pelike in Boston,¹⁵⁰ a herm is being handled by an artisan. He is setting this normally sized herm near an altar. The cup in Copenhagen exhibits a

¹⁴⁹ Mug, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum 598; (BA 211521), ARV² 873.30; Brommer 1959: 66, fig. 66; LIMC V, pl. 216, s.v. ‘Hermes’ 172. Tarquinia Painter; 450–430 BC.

¹⁵⁰ Pelike, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.100; (BA 215101), ARV² 1139.1; LIMC V, s.v. ‘Hermes’ 171. From Italy, Suessula; Hasselmann Painter; 440–420 BC.

tiny herm,¹⁵¹ and the way it is carefully handled by the satyr makes it look like it is the satyr's pet. Satyrs and herms seem to have a special relationship, as seen on a krater in Syracuse.¹⁵² The rivalry between the ithyphallic satyr and the herm could explain the very unusual violence of some satyrs against herms. On a pelike in Lausanne,¹⁵³ a satyr is taking an axe to a fallen herm. Although the satyr is aiming his blows at the head, the parallelism of both erect penises is striking. A satyr is also threatening a herm with an axe on a black-figure oinochoe in Berlin,¹⁵⁴ but this time the axe is closer to the herm's erection. Satyrs are found with axes and hammers destroying a tomb on a krater in Paris¹⁵⁵ or performing *anodoi* by hammering the earth and producing an opening for the elevation of Kore or other goddesses. But, in the context of jokes on herms discussed elsewhere, our herm-destroying ithyphallic satyrs are clearly jealous of the statues' erections.

Athletics On a red-figure chous in Berlin (fig. 94),¹⁵⁶ a gigantic Dionysos holding a thyrsos in his left hand presides over a torch-race run by naked satyrs. One of them holds a *salpinx* and will proclaim the winner. Simon (1982: 129) has suggested a representation from a satyr play by Aeschylus, *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*.

This picture recalls the decoration on Prize Panathenaic amphorae. Similarly, a black-figure amphora in Leiden (fig. 95)¹⁵⁷ is a living parody of Prize Panathenaic amphorae. On the front, Athena stands between two Doric columns on bases and surmounted by cocks, and on the back, a satyr and a maenad are dancing. On the front, the Panathenaic inscription is missing, and two ivy branches seem to hang from Athena's shield and arm on each side of the columns. Ivy is a decorative motif but also a sign of the presence of Dionysos. If Athena stands on one side, normally a sporting event should be depicted on the other. Here, the dancing followers of Dionysos have replaced the expected athletes. On the chous in Berlin (fig. 94), Dionysos replaces Athena, and satyrs, shown as diminutive running athletes, the men. To show satyrs, the wine-drinking sex-frenzied followers of Dionysos, as athletes, the living embodiment of *arete* (virtue), is to give them an impossible role. They become part of the Polis and its agonistic contests. As half-men and

¹⁵¹ Cup, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum; (BA 200586), ARV² 75.59, 1623, Add 83, Add² 168, Para 328; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes' 170; CVA, National Museum 3, pl. 139.2a-b. From Greece; Epiktetos; 520-490 BC.

¹⁵² Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 22934; (BA 213631), ARV² 550.4, Add² 321; CVA, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.7-8, pl. 11.4-5; Keuls 1993: fig. 330; ARFH II, fig. 155. From Sicily, Camarina; Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

¹⁵³ Pelike, Attic RF, Lausanne, Musée Historique, 5250; (BA 352324), Add² 209, Para 355; Bérard 1966: pl. 22; Furley, W. D. (1996) *Andokides and the Herms, A Study of Crisis in Fifth-century Athenian Religion*. London: front cover. Geras Painter; 510-490 BC.

¹⁵⁴ Oinochoe, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1928; Bérard 1966: pl. 23.1.

¹⁵⁵ Column-krater, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1947; (BA 202393), ARV² 240.44, Add 100, Add² 201, Para 349; Bérard 1966: pl. 23.2; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 2, III.c.13, pl. 24.1-6; ARFH I, fig. 169. From Italy, Orvieto; Myson; 510-470 BC.

¹⁵⁶ Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1962.33; (BA 273288), ARV² 1660.71bis, Para 394, Add² 265; LIMC III, s.v. 'Dionysos' 831. Altamura Painter; 480-450 BC. Photograph © bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.

¹⁵⁷ Amphora, Attic BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC9; (BA 330137), ABV 448.28, Para 193, Add² 113; CVA, Holland 3, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1, pl. 23.1-2. Dot-Ivy Group; 550-530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 94. *Dionysos and small satyrs in a parody of Panathenaics*. Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1962, 33; Altamura Painter; 480–450 BC. Photograph © bpk/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.



Figure 95. *Parody of Panathenaic Amphora*: side A *Athena promachos*; side B *Satyr chasing a maenad*. Amphora, Attic BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC9; Dot-Ivy Group; 550–530 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

half-beasts, they live outside the Polis. To show a satyr acting as a citizen is both absurd and comical.

On a few vases, satyrs are shown training for the long jump (fig. 96),¹⁵⁸ on others training as boxers,¹⁵⁹ as discus throwers,¹⁶⁰ and even dancing the pyrrhic.¹⁶¹ The presence of satyrs in a mythological scene does not imply a satyr play.¹⁶² It is rather a parody of the usual representations of the Panathenaic Games, under the thyrsos of Dionysos instead of the *aegis* of Athena. On a black-figure amphora in Munich,¹⁶³ a satyr drives a chariot pulled by two other satyrs. The satyrs have organised horse races. The charioteer is humanised: he has a pointed nose, not snubbed, like the two others, and he wears a trimmed beard. He is taking his role seriously, almost as much as the real charioteer on a column-krater in Naples.¹⁶⁴ There are a few more scenes where satyrs pretend to be charioteers,¹⁶⁵ and quite a comical one on a cup in Cambridge,¹⁶⁶ which shows, on one side, satyrs charioteers with maenads instead of steeds and, on the other, satyrs riding wineskins. In the background is a wineskin and a food basket, which are signs of the symposium, and a hare, sign of love gifts.

Two vases show extraordinary scenes. On a lekythos in Paris,¹⁶⁷ satyrs are running carrying donkeys instead of being carried. They have also seized the ithyphallic donkeys by their hind legs so that the donkeys are moving backwards. This is a good example of the satyr as an agent of carnival. On one side of a volute-krater in Munich (fig. 97),¹⁶⁸ ithyphallic satyrs are practising the pentathlon: discus, javelin, long jump, and boxing are all represented. Two, wearing long robes, are holding big objects in the same manner as

¹⁵⁸ Oinochoe fr., Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.229.13; (BA 202679), ARV² 276.80, Harrow Painter; 510–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also kyathos, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1984; (BA 320377), ABV 295.1, Add² 77; (Vierneisel 1990: 411, fig. 74.2a–b). From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; near Psiax; 530–500 BC.

¹⁵⁹ Cup fr., Attic RF, Corinth, Archaeological Museum, C33.210; (BA 202155), ARV² 213.239, Para 344. From Corinth; Berlin Painter; 500–480 BC.

¹⁶⁰ Cup fr., Attic RF, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.277; (BA 203922), ARV² 371.23, Add 225, Para 365, 367; *Greek Vases, Molly and Walter Bareiss Collections, The Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1983) no. 31. Brygos Painter; 480–470 BC.

¹⁶¹ Lekythos, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum; (BA 2671), BCH 92 (1968) 585, figs. 36–7, 460–450 BC.

¹⁶² See further, 'The Satyr, an Anti-hero'.

¹⁶³ Amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1389; (BA 12378); CVA, Deutschland 3, München Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1, pls. 24.3, 27.1, 540–530 BC.

¹⁶⁴ Column-krater, Attic RF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 2558; (BA 216077), ARV² 1097.13; Braccisi, L. et al. (1988) *Veder Greco, Le Necropoli di Agrigento, Mostra Internazionale, Agrigento, 2. maggio–11. luglio 1988*, Rome: 216–17, cat. 70. From Sicily, Agrigento; Naples Painter; 440–430 BC.

¹⁶⁵ Stamnos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 00.342; (BA 206926), ARV² 598.4, 1661, Para 394, Add² 265; LIMC VIII, pl. 768, s.v. 'Silenoi' 135. From Greece, Athens; Blenheim Painter; 450–430 BC. See also stamnos, Attic RF, Orvieto, Museo Civico, 1044; (BA 207660), ARV² 657.1; CVA, Italia 16, Umbria, Musei Comunali 1, pls. 9.1–2, 10.1–4. From Italy, Orvieto; Painter of the Yale Lekythos; 450–430 BC. See lekythos, Attic BF, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6261; (BA 25312), ABV 497; ABL 223.35; CVA, Italia 18, Taranto, Museo Nazionale 2, pl. 14.3, 5. From Italy, Massafra; Marathon Painter; 510–500 BC.

¹⁶⁶ Cambridge, 37.17.

¹⁶⁷ Lekythos, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1730; (BA 9131), ABL 119; Lissarrague 1988b: 337, fig. 2; LIMC VIII, pl. 736, s.v. 'Silenoi' 59, 550–530 BC.

¹⁶⁸ Column-krater, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2381; (BA 202099), ARV² 221.14, Add 98, Add² 198; Brommer 1959: 60, fig. 59; Mitchell 2004: fig. 17a–b. From Italy, South; Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

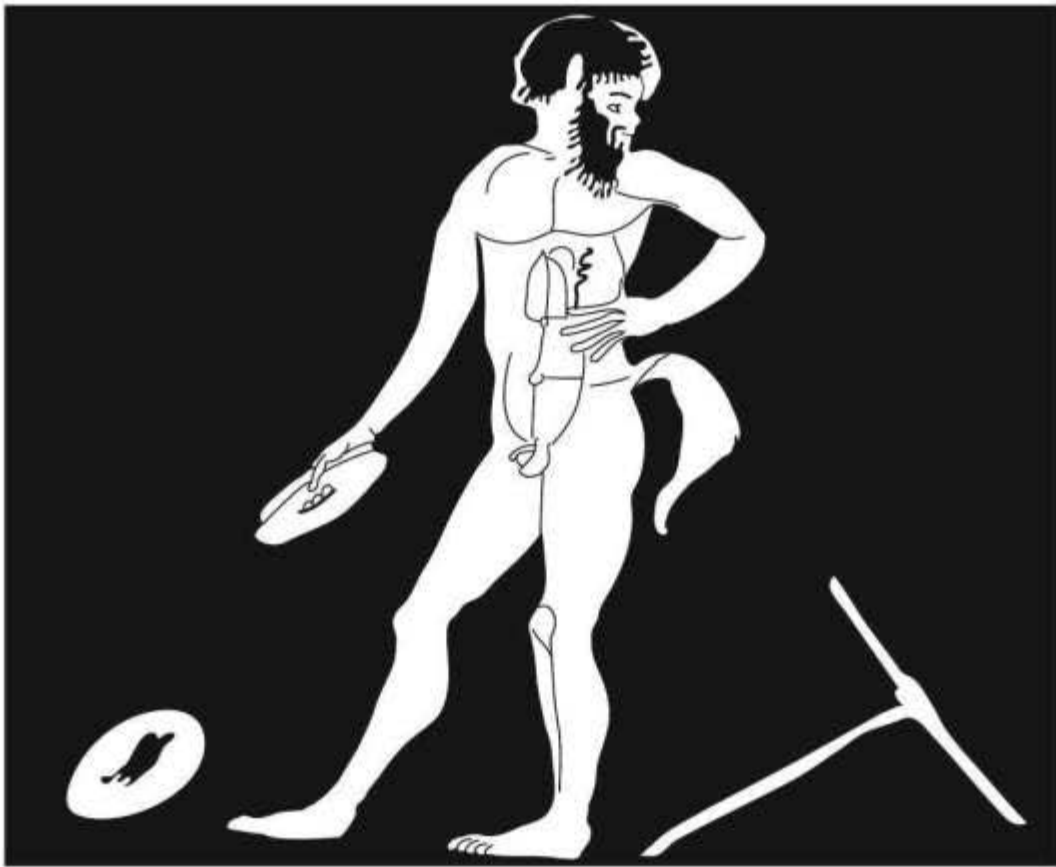


Figure 96. *Satyr-athlete*. Oinochoe fr., Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.229.13; Harrow Painter; 510–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

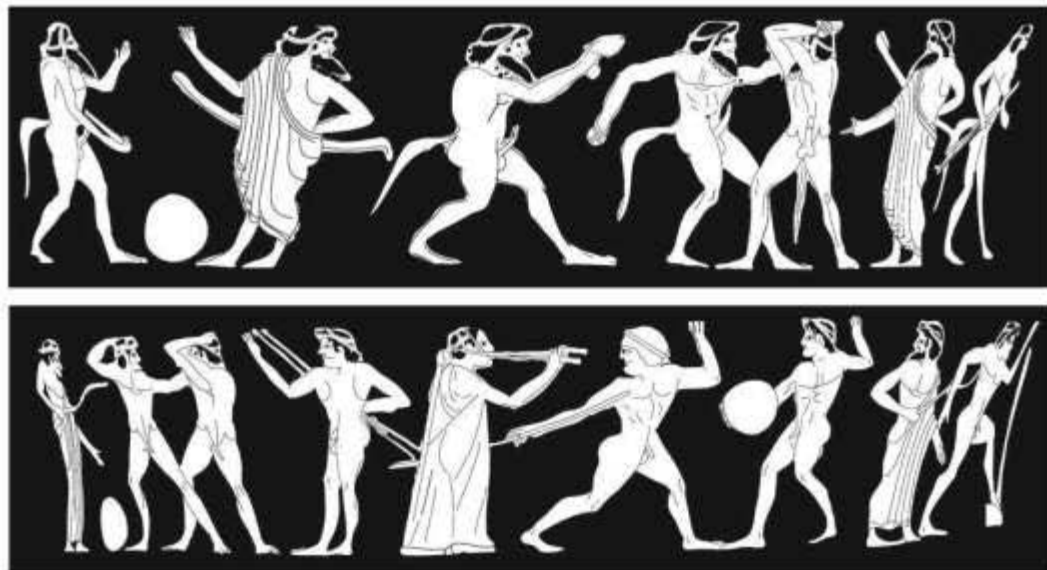


Figure 97. *Side A Satyr-athletes and satyr-agonothetes with giant dildos instead of forked sticks; side B Athletes and agonothetes*. Column-Krater, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2381; Nikoxenos Painter; 525–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

trainers in athletic scenes hold a forked stick. An *aulētēs* is standing in the centre of the composition. On the other side, humans are practising the pentathlon. From left to right are a trainer (recognisable from his forked stick), two boxers, an *akontist*, an *aulētēs*, another *akontist*, a *diskobolos*, a second *aulētēs*, and a runner. Because satyrs are set in the civic space in such an unexpected performance, this painting has been considered to be inspired by a satyr play. Two different plays have been cited to interpret the picture: Aristias, in 467 BC, presented a satyr play of his father Pratinas called *Palaistrai*, which involved satyrs boxing (Simon 1982: 130); and Aeschylus's *Isthmianstai* in which satyrs prepared the Games at Corinth (Brommer 1959: 60). There are many comical scenes in which satyrs take over human prerogatives, as we have already seen. The presence of an *aulos*-player in a scene with satyrs is often used as proof of a drama setting. In fact, his presence may be irrelevant: hundreds of vases in black- and red-figure show *aulos*-players among athletes where neither satyrs nor actors are present. According to Vos (1986: 121):

Athletes were accompanied by flute-music during their exercises in the palaestra, and at contests, where the public paid attention not only to the athletic performances, but to the music as well. A good flute-player was so highly appreciated that in Olympia a stele was erected in honour of the *aulētēs* Pythokritos of Sikyon who, in the early sixth century played six times at the Olympic Games for the pentathlon.

[Paus. 6.14.10]

In fact, the scene in question is a parody, not a satyr play. The viewer simply needs to turn the vase and look on its other side to find human athletes practising the pentathlon. There are two more phallic jokes in this picture. First, trainers are usually recognisable from their forked sticks, but our satyr-trainers carry giant dildoes instead, similar to the one a satyr on an amphora in Boston holds above his head.¹⁶⁹ The second joke is the satyrs' sexual erection. Satyrs are very often shown in erection, and not only are human athletes never shown in erection but their penis's foreskin is almost always tethered with a *kynodesme*, which of course prevents erection: their penises are firmly tied up to provide comfort during exercise (Vos 1983: 20–1).

Games On a red-figure cup in Boston (fig. 98),¹⁷⁰ a satyr bends backwards whilst crouching on one foot, the other in the air. He balances a kantharos on the tip of his erect penis. This scene recalls a famous *kōmos* of satyrs on a red-figure psykter in London,¹⁷¹ where a satyr is crouching likewise amongst a chorus of satyrs performing acrobatics.

¹⁶⁹ Amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.882; (BA 202711); ARV² 279.7, *Add* 102, *Add* 208, *Pura* 354; Beazley 1967: 58, fig. 37; ARFH I, fig. 177. From Italy, Capua; Flying-Angel Painter; 500–490 BC.

¹⁷⁰ Boston, 01.8024. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also cup, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.291; (BA 204992); ARV² 478.310, *Add* 247; CVA, Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum 8, pl. 434.1–2. Makron; 490–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁷¹ Psykter, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E.768; (BA 205309); ARV² 446.262, 1566, *Add* 118, *Add* 241, *Pura* 375; CVA, Great Britain 8, London British Museum 6, III.1c.12, pl. 105.1a–d; Furtwängler *et al.* 1904: pl. 48. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Douris (by signature); 500–460 BC.



Figure 98. *Satyr balancing a kantharos on the tip of his erect penis.* Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8024; Makron; 490–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

The satyr is amusing himself, as on cup in Todi¹⁷² and another in Berlin.¹⁷³ Human *komasts* also play games at symposia and perform acrobatics usually with skyphoi (fig. 99),¹⁷⁴ but they do not use their phallos like satyrs. That is a satyric prerogative.

Some games, such as *ephedrismos*, played by satyrs are discussed elsewhere.¹⁷⁵ Satyrs are playful characters, and one expects to see them engage in recreation. But when they are represented playing typical citizen games, dressed up as citizens, these images are unexpected and comical. On a cup fragment in Basel,¹⁷⁶ three draped figures are easily identifiable as satyrs disguised as citizens from their balding foreheads and their equine ears. Two of them are sitting on the ground. They both clutch with one hand the same stick. The satyr on the right holds up two extended fingers of his right hand. Leaning on his staff, a third draped satyr is watching them. He is most probably following the game

¹⁷² Cup, Attic RF, Todi, Museo Civico, 471; (BA 9846); CVA, Italia 16, Umbria, Musei Comunali 1, III.LC2.III.LD.4, III.LC2.III.LD.5, pl. 4.3–4. From Italy, Todi; Manner of Painter of Todi 474; 420–400 BC.

¹⁷³ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2267; (BA 200951), ARV² 111.16, 1626, Add² 173; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamon Museum 1, pl. 6.1–3. From Italy, Etruria; Hermaios Painter (Kachrylion Potter by signature); 520–500 BC.

¹⁷⁴ Paris, Louvre, G73.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 4, 'Aineas and *Ephedrismos*'.

¹⁷⁶ Cup fr., Basel, H. Cahn, HC431; (BA 44585); Froning, Holscher, and Mielsch 1992: pl. 45.2–3. Sotades Painter; 470–460 BC.



Figure 99. Youth balancing a skyphos on his hip. Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G73; Manner of Scheurleer Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

of *morra*. On a hydria in Warsaw,¹⁷⁷ two women sitting on hydriai hold onto the same stick with their left hand. The woman to the left holds up two fingers, and the other five. According to Deubner (1930: 173), the game of *morra* (*daktylon epallaxis*), still played today in Italy, consisted in two persons extending at the same moment some fingers of their right hand. The one who called out first the sum of the held up fingers correctly advanced a little on the stick held by both players, from the middle to the end of the stick. Since, on the hydria in Warsaw, an Eros flies to the winner with fillets, the girl to the left whose hand holds the end of the stick has won.

Knucklebones (*astragaloi*) were popular toys made from the ankle-bones of the hind feet of sheep and goats. Because they could fall on four different sides, they could be used as dice (Deubner 1930: 173). The game was therefore usually played squatting so as to

¹⁷⁷ Hydria, Attic RF, Warsaw, National Museum, 142293; (BA 214960), ARV² 1130.150, Add³ 333, Para 453; Deubner 1930: fig. 21, Washing Painter; 440–420 BC.

see clearly the different throws, which had different values.¹⁷⁸ On a pelike in Zurich,¹⁷⁹ two satyrs play with knucklebones. They hold a plentiful reserve in one hand and throw them with the other. One satyr, to the left, has thrown an *astragalos* above his head, and the second satyr has caught another with his foot. They probably have not figured out the rules of the game! Satyrs also mock games by transforming them into something else or find a playful alternate use to working tools. On a pelike in London (fig. 38),¹⁸⁰ two satyrs are using a potter's wheel as a merry-go-round.¹⁸¹ They are turning so fast, they must hold-on each other's hands to avoid spinning off. 'Satyrs are everywhere, including the potters' workshop' writes Lissarrague (2000b: 119). On a skyphos in Berlin,¹⁸² a satyr prods gracefully the seat of a swinging maenad. Swings (*aiōra*) were mainly used by women. The usual representations show women pushing one another on swings.¹⁸³ A satyr is a lively and exuberant creature whose undoubted inadequacies add to its power to amuse. As a servant of Dionysos, he is of servile condition. On the Berlin skyphos, he has replaced the expected young female servant and plays charmingly with a maenad whom normally he would be trying to rape.

During the *Askolia*, on the second day of the *Dionysia* festival, as is shown on many vases, youths played a game called *askoliasmos*, which consisted in trying to keep one's balance on greased inflated wineskins, as on a cup in Tübingen.¹⁸⁴ The wineskins were greased to make it more difficult for the participants to keep their balance. The aim of the game was to remain mounted for as long as possible. On both sides of a cup in Paris,¹⁸⁵ satyrs ride on wineskins over the sea. Fish or minuscule dolphins are depicted among the waves. Satyrs are often shown riding wineskins but rarely at sea. They exaggerate whatever they do. They play in outrageous and incongruous ways with vessels when compared to representations involving other types of revellers. So, as a corollary to the

¹⁷⁸ Chous, Attic RF, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum; (BA 19508); *J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calendar* (Fall 1994), 440–420 BC. See also chous, Attic RF, Paris, (Once) Market; (BA 16258); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 369, no. 880. From Greece, Athens; 380–360 BC. And kantharos, Attic RF, Baranello, Museo Civico, 4249; (BA 215088), ARV² 1138.51. Hasselmann Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹⁷⁹ Pelike, Attic RF, Zurich market, Arete; (BA 302); *AntK* 17 (1974), Advertisement p. 5, 430–410 BC.

¹⁸⁰ London, E387.

¹⁸¹ See also hydria, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlung, 1717; (BA 302031), ARV² 362.36, Add² 96, Para 161; Kurtz, D. C. (ed.), (1989) *Greek Vases, Lectures by J. D. Beazley*, Oxford: pl. 26.1. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Leagros Group; 520–500 BC.

¹⁸² Hydria, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2589; (BA 219002), ARV² 1301.7, Add² 360, Para 475; LIMC VIII, pl. 770, s.v. 'Silenoi' 151; Furtwängler *et al.* 1904: pl. 125. From Italy, Chiusi; Penelope Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹⁸³ Hydria, Attic RF, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, F2394; (BA 214982), ARV² 1131.172, Add² 333, Para 454; *ARFH* II, fig. 110; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 9, pls. 32.1–5, 58.8. From Italy, Nola; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. See also amphora, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F60; (BA 301554), ABV 308.74, Add² 82, Para 133; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 4, III. He. 18, pl. 31.4.7–9; Böhr 1982: no. 120. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Swing Painter; 550–530 BC. And see amphora, Attic RF, Stuttgart, 65.1; (BA 9134); Böhr 1982: pl. 163–b. Princeton Painter; 550–530 BC.

¹⁸⁴ Cup fr., Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, St01525; (BA 200800), ARV² 94.104, Add² 171; CVA, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 5, pl. 2.6; Watzinger 1924: pl. 21. Euergides Painter; 515–500 BC.

¹⁸⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G92; (BA 201118), ARV² 134.3, Add² 88, Add² 177; Cygielmann, M. *et al.* (1992) *Euphronios, Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi, Arezzo 27–28.5.1990*. Florence: pl. 29a. Nikosthenes Painter; 540–520 BC.

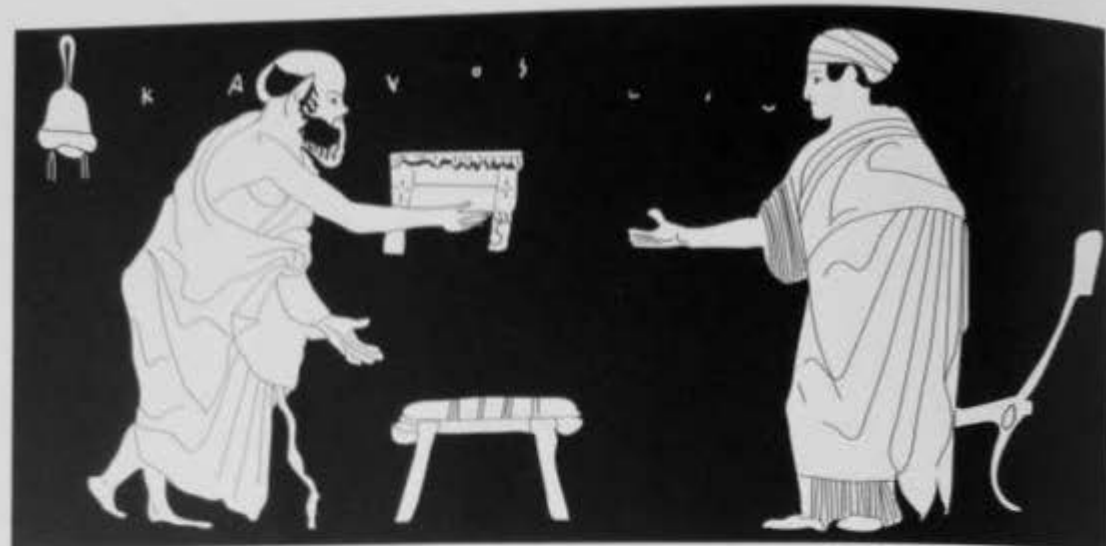


Figure 100. *Parody of normal seduction scene: satyr inside the gynaeceum*. Skyphos, Attic RF, Habana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, R79-1011; Lewis Painter; 440-430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

greasy wineskins of the *Askolia*, satyrs ride wineskins on the sea in comical exaggeration of the original scene. In another parody, on a cup in Brussels,¹⁸⁶ a satyr is playing *askolismos* in the tondo while satyrs are engaged in a mad *kōmos* on the outside of the cup. A satyr is performing acrobatics, standing on his hands, another has just done so and is about to fall on his back, one is dancing, another playing the *aulos*, and finally the most extraordinary one is riding a creature half swan and half phallus with testes. This phallus bird closely resembles the one that takes Aphrodite for a ride (fig. 67).¹⁸⁷

Courtship On a skyphos in Havana (fig. 100),¹⁸⁸ a satyr leans on his staff in front of a woman wearing a *sakkos*. Both figures are draped. The presence of a *klismos*, a stool, a wool *kalathos*, and a suspended sponge for female ablutions indicate that this is probably a *gynaeceum*. The satyr is presenting a wooden box to the woman. On a skyphos in London,¹⁸⁹ a draped man, leaning on his staff is presenting a necklace to a draped woman. On a lekythos in Melbourne,¹⁹⁰ a young servant is presenting a wooden box to her seated mistress. Between both figures is a *kalathos*. The scene on the skyphos in Havana plays on the unexpected combination of these two more usual scenes. Once again, the satyr is

¹⁸⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A723; (BA 203253), ARV² 317.15, 1590, *Add.* 214; Boardman 1992: no. 14, fig. 9. Onesimos? 505-480 BC.

¹⁸⁷ Rome, Villa Giulia, 57912.

¹⁸⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Habana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, R79-1011; (BA 213255), ARV² 974.23; Olmos, R. (1993) *Catálogo de los Vasos Griegos del Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de La Habana*: 182, no. 83. Lewis Painter; 440-430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁸⁹ Skyphos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E146; (BA 11924); CVA, Great Britain 5, London, British Museum 4, pl. 29.4a-b, 490-480 BC.

¹⁹⁰ Lekythos, Attic RF, Melbourne, University Museum, 1931.0009; (BA 24048); Oakley 2000: 239, fig. 9.6, 430-410 BC.

acting out a part, and he will not be able to keep the pose for long: he is pretending to be a female servant and a male wooer at one and the same time. These visual comical games are only explicitly identifiable if one knows the other common depictions that the painter is referring to. The gesture of the woman on the skyphos in Havana can be interpreted in two ways: either it is a reference to the scene where a mistress receives a box from her servant, or it could be a woman accepting a gift from a satyr 'bourgeois' as an erotic gift. Women being wooed, as the one on the London skyphos, normally keep their hands to themselves, as on another London skyphos.¹⁹¹ It is impossible to know for certain which description of women is closest to the truth: that of Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 223–5), describing women's extramarital affairs, 'they bake cakes, as they've always done. They annoy their husbands, as they've always done. They hide lovers in the house, as they've always done', or that of speakers in the law courts referring to the modesty and dignity of Athenian women. Sue Blundell writes: 'At the end of the day, only Athenian women knew which of these two discourses was closer to the truth; and not only do they not speak to modern readers, but they were of course unlikely to speak to their husbands about such matters' (1995: 126).

The comedy in the scene is based on the imitation and transformation of stylised gestures. According to Shapiro: 'When the Greeks wanted to express their deepest feelings, their fears and fantasies, they put them into myth. So, for example, satyrs, the mythological bestial followers of Dionysos thought to be in a permanent state of sexual arousal, are occasionally shown on vases performing sexual acrobatics (with each other or with maenads) far removed from the stylised poses and gestures of *erastes* and *eromenos*' (1992: 58). As always, there are comical exceptions. On a pelike in St. Petersburg¹⁹² and a pelike in Paris,¹⁹³ a draped satyr, leaning on a knotted staff, presents a hare to a seated youth on a block. The hare is a well-known love gift from the *erastes* to the *eromenos* usually depicted in stylised poses and gestures in vase-painting. A neck-amphora in Rome¹⁹⁴ displays a similar scene to that on the pelike in St. Petersburg: a man leaning on his knotted staff offering a hare to a youth. The satyr on the St. Petersburg pelike holds the animal in extension, in exactly the same fashion as the *erastes* on the neck-amphora in Rome. The ultimate and most unlikely attitude one expects from a satyr is one of style and modesty. A further scene on a Panathenaic amphora in Leiden¹⁹⁵ shows, on one side, a youth holding a hare in extension and looking forwards. On the other side, a satyr, looking back to the youth, holds a lyre. The satyr's penis is clearly tethered. The situation is reversed: the satyr is the *eromenos*!

¹⁹¹ Skyphos, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E142; (BA 213308), ARV² 978.7; CVA, Great Britain 5, London, British Museum 4, pl. 29.7a–b. From Italy, Nola; Agathon Painter; 450–440 BC.

¹⁹² Pelike, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 734 (ST1721); (BA 206009), ARV² 531.33; Mitchell 2004: fig. 21. Alkimachos Painter; 470–460 BC.

¹⁹³ Paris, Baron E. de Rothschild; (BA 206010).

¹⁹⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50462; (BA 202569), ARV² 284.3, Add² 209; Bérard 1984: fig. 113. Matsch Painter; 480–460 BC.

¹⁹⁵ Panathenaic amphora, Attic RF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC80; (BA 201660), ARV² 183.7, Add² 186; CVA, Holland 3, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1, pl. 122.1–2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.



Figure 101. *Satyr and lecherous old man attacking women at well*. Pelike, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3228; 510–490 BC. Scanned photograph, after Pfuhl 1923: fig. 276.

Satyrs doing what we normally expect of them is well depicted on a bell-krater in Tübingen,¹⁰⁰ where two ithyphallic satyrs attempt to rape a young woman at a well. Women at fountains are often shown being wooed by men, as on a hydria in the Vatican,¹⁰¹ but not in the nude and not in erection: only satyrs are represented in this way. On a pelike in Berlin (fig. 101),¹⁰² two women at a well react differently to the combined attack of a satyr and an old man. Shapiro (1997: 65), commenting on what he describes as the 'vulgar humour' of the vase, notes the 'comic contrast between the randy satyr at the left and the old man at the right who struggles to raise a water pail but can no longer get it up'. The woman to the right is fleeing from the old man's advances while carrying two hydriai. In contrast, the gestures of the woman to the left, sitting on the ground, could be interpreted as a gesture of invitation towards the masturbating satyr.

¹⁰⁰ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, S101343; (BA 10510); CVA, Deutschland 52, Tübingen, Eberhard Karls Universität 4, pl. 25.1–2; Watzinger 1924: pl. 29. From Italy (?); Manner of the Kleophon Painter; 440–420 BC.

¹⁰¹ Hydria, Attic BF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 417; (BA 302871); ARV 384.26, *Para* 168, *Add* 102; Bérard 1984: 92, fig. 130. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Acheloos Painter; 550–530 BC.

¹⁰² Pelike, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3228; (BA 138); CVA, Deutschland 61, Berlin, Antikensammlung 7, pl. 29.1, pl. 28.2; scanned photograph, after Pfuhl 1923: fig. 276. From Italy, Orvieto; 510–490 BC.

Merchants On a pelike fragment in Paris,¹⁰⁰ an ithyphallic satyr is sitting on a rock. Behind him is another ithyphallic satyr, carrying an *aulos*-case on his arm and making a gesture to a third figure to the right. This figure's ears are human; he is not a draped satyr but a citizen resting on his staff. Next to the seated satyr is an amphora. The satyr is presenting a narrow and rather short stick to the man. It is the siphon often used by oil merchants to permit their customers to taste the oil. On a lekythos in Boston,¹⁰¹ an oil merchant is using a siphon to offer a taste of his oil to a seated man. There are amphorae on the ground and suspended alabastra, as on the pelike in Paris. Our satyr has become the oil merchant. Another discrepancy from the usual scene, except for the presence of a 'real' citizen leaning on his cane (a customer), is the satyr's seat. Oil merchants are usually shown sitting on stools or on upturned baskets, not on a rock.

Artisans

There are many representations of artisans in vase-paintings, but these vases should be understood as a kind of self-reference more than anything else.¹⁰² It is doubtful that images of artisans on symposium vessels were produced to make the rich Athenians laugh at the lower classes, as has been argued by Büsing (1993). When satyrs are involved, parody is often intentional. In the context of satyr plays, D. F. Sutton (1980: 137) argues that 'the incongruity of presenting satyrs as various sorts of specialists must have been a source of amusement'. Satyrs pretending to be artisans are also found in vase-paintings. On a column-krater in Caltanissetta,¹⁰³ Hephaistos, seated on a low stool, wields a hammer and tongs near a furnace, similar to the metal worker on a cup in Berlin¹⁰⁴ who wears the same *pilos* and is poking the fire in a furnace, and similar to a caricatured artisan on a chous in Athens.¹⁰⁵ Hephaistos is encircled by two satyrs who appear at first sight to be helping him. One is holding a pick and the other an object made of skin: it could be a pair of bellows. What are satyrs doing in Hephaistos's workshop? This scene may precede the *Return of Hephaistos*. Hephaistos is not yet drunk, and the satyrs who are waiting for him to be so, so as to bring him back to the Olympus, amuse themselves meanwhile by misusing one workshop tool after the other.

¹⁰⁰ Pelike fr., Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10740; (BA 102991); ABV 396.22, *Para* 173. Eucharides Painter; 500-470 BC.

¹⁰¹ Boston, 99.526.

¹⁰² On Greek artisans, see Ziomecki 1975.

¹⁰³ Column-krater, Attic RF, Caltanissetta, Museo Civico, 20371 (S810); (BA 352517), *Add* 207, *Para* 354-39bis; Migliore, M. (1981) *Sabucina, Studio sulla Zona Archeologica di Caltanissetta*. Caltanissetta: 112, fig. 82. From Sicily, Sabucina; 480-460 BC.

¹⁰⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F21941; (BA 204340), ARV² 400.1, 1571, 1651, 1706, *Add* 114, *Add* 230, *Para* 370; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, pl. 126.5; Ling, R. (ed.) (2000) *Making Classical Art. Process and Practice*. Stroud and Charleston: fig. 51; Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: III, pl. 135-3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Foundry Painter; 480-470 BC.

¹⁰⁵ Chous, Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P15210; (BA 922); Burford 1985: pl. 35. From Greece, Athens Agora.



Figure 102. *Satyr-sculptor*. Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 62.613; Manner of the Antiphon Painter; 490–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

On a cup in Boston (fig. 102),¹⁰⁵ a naked satyr sitting on a stool is sculpting a column. There is a wineskin behind him, which indicates that he might abandon his pose at any time to gulp some wine. His penis is tethered, but oddly enough the column he is sculpting is between his legs, just like a huge phallus, which cannot be considered a coincidence in the case of a satyr.

On a pelike at Harvard University,¹⁰⁶ a satyr is working at a well. He is wearing a *chiton* from the waist down like a workman. The latter often wore *chitoniskoi*. Since

¹⁰⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 62.613; (BA 273647), ARV² 1701.19bis, 1704, Add² 219, Para 362; Bol, P. C. and Kreikenbom, D. (eds.), (1990) *Polyklet, Der Bildbauer der Griechischen Kunst, Ausstellung im Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik*, Frankfurt: 516, no. 15. Manner of the Antiphon Painter; 490–480 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁰⁶ Cambridge (MA), 1925.30.34.

the other side shows Herakles striding away carrying two pointed amphorae suspended from a pole, one may legitimately wonder if it is not wine that the satyr is drawing from the well and not water, as the satyr filling his vessel with wine from a fountain on a pelike in Berlin.²⁰⁷ Satyrs are associated in such a variety of ways with wine, that one expects to find them at vintages treading grapes.²⁰⁸ Of course, making wine is a human *technē*, thus satyrs could not normally be expected to do so. Yet, satyrs are often shown treading grapes in the presence of Dionysos, and so one should not go too far in considering all such pictures as parodies. On a column-krater in Ferrara,²⁰⁹ a man is treading grapes in a pithos, while another man treads grapes through a basket on a pressing table. A youth holds a skyphos and an oinochoe, and another figure approaches the group carrying a basket, probably filled with grapes. On a column-krater in Bologna,²¹⁰ a satyr, a rhyton in hand, is treading grapes in the main basin, while another is treading grapes in a pithos. A maenad is watching the scene from the left, and a satyr carrying a thyrsos moves toward the other two satyrs. The scene might be considered comical in that satyrs are performing a human labour. These two column-kraters were attributed to the Orchard Painter, to whom were also attributed two other column-kraters, which are discussed further. This 'generic' scene can become truly humorous: on a column-krater in Lecce,²¹¹ three satyrs are working at a vintage. One brings a basket full of grapes, the second is treading grapes on a table, but the third is splashing about, having thrust each of his legs in different amphorae. The basket the second satyr is treading seems to be inflated like a wineskin.

On a cup in Geneva,²¹² a satyr is running while carrying two baskets on a stick. He may be a porter, or he may have stolen some goods from a porter, or indeed there may be another explanation. On a column-krater in London (fig. 103),²¹³ a satyr is stacking bags in the presence of an onlooker, leaning on his staff, possibly Dionysos. The bag is similar to the one carried by a youth in the tondo of a cup in Munich (fig. 104),²¹⁴ as well as the one carried by a man in the presence of a herm on a cup in Berlin.²¹⁵ The contents of the bags are identifiable. A psykter in Malibu²¹⁶ shows similar bags, and it has been convincingly argued by Immerwahr that they contain grapes. On the London column-krater,

²⁰⁷ Berlin, F2173.

²⁰⁸ See the two seminal articles on vintage scenes: Sparkes 1976 and Immerwahr 1992. See also Mitchell 2000.

²⁰⁹ Column-krater, Attic RF, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T254; (BA 205908), ARV² 324.26, *Add* 124, *Add* 254, *Para* 383; Bérard 1984: fig. 185; Sparkes 1996: fig. III.15. From Italy, Spina; Orchard Painter; 470–460 BC.

²¹⁰ Bologna, 241.

²¹¹ Lecce, 602.

²¹² Cup, Attic RF, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1529; (BA 201410), ARV² 154.7, *Para* 336; CVA, Switzerland 1, Genève, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 1, pl. 7.1. Painter of Berlin 2268; 500–480 BC.

²¹³ Column-krater, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E487; (BA 202555), ARV² 281.35, 282. From Italy, Capua; Flying-Angel Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²¹⁴ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2592; Immerwahr 1992: 124, pl. 31a. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²¹⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2298; (BA 203844), ARV² 364.52, *Add* 110, *Add* 223, *Para* 364; LIMC V, pl. 215, s.v. 'Hermes' 162; ARFH I, fig. 305; CVA, Berlin, antiquarium 2, pl. 64.1–2, 66.5. From, Eruria, Vulci; Triptolemos Painter; 480–470 BC.

²¹⁶ Psykter, Attic RF, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.AE.285; (BA 13369); Immerwahr 1992: 124, fig. 1. Smikros; 510–500 BC.



Figure 103. *Dionysos and satyr-worker*. Column-krater, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E487; Flying-Angel Painter; 500–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

the shape of the pile of bags must not be overlooked; it is no coincidence that it closely resembles a gigantic erect penis and scrotum.

Slaves

Satyrs are often found in the company of donkeys or mules. Padgett (2000) has argued convincingly that a satyr shown grooming a donkey is a sign of social marginalisation. He also remarks that African slaves usually attended this duty in the Polis. On a cup in New York,²¹⁷ an African youth is grooming a horse, and on a column-krater in Berlin,²¹⁸ another youth is grooming a horse. Satyrs, however, would not groom such a noble animal as a horse. On a fragment in Corinth,²¹⁹ a satyr brings a basin to a donkey, as

²¹⁷ Cup, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.281.71; (BA 203380), ARV² 329.125bis, 1595, *Add* 108, *Pura* 359; Padgett 2000: 68, fig. 2.10. Onesimos; 505–480 BC.

²¹⁸ Column-krater, Attic RF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 31404; (BA 202440), ARV² 243.4, *Add*² 202; Padgett 2000: 69, fig. 2.11. From Italy, Near Taranto; Myson; 510–470 BC.

²¹⁹ Fr., Attic RF, Corinth, C39.386; (ARV 1014.26).



Figure 104. *Worker carrying a sac*. Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2592. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

on a number of other vases.²²⁰ At least two scenes show satyrs grooming donkeys under Dionysos's supervision.²²¹ In the first, a column-krater in Florence, a satyr with a basin oddly decorated with hanging phalloi coyly approaches a donkey in the presence of Dionysos holding his thyrsos. Because the donkey is violently stretching its head towards the basin, the frightened satyr drops the amphora he was holding. The close relationship

²²⁰ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Germany, Private collection; Padgett 2000: 66, fig. 2.9. See also cup, Attic RF, Vienna, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Wien, 530; (BA 204540), ARV² 416.9; CVA, Wien, Universität und Professor Franz V. Matsch, pls. 11.3, 12.1–2; Padgett 2000: 62, fig. 2.6. Painter of Louvre G265; 480–470 BC. And see volute-krater, Attic RF, Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 36818; (BA 215689), ARV² 1184.1, *Add.* 140, *Para* 460; Padgett 2000: 58, fig. 2.4. From Italy, Ruvo; Kadmos Painter; 440–420 BC.

²²¹ Column-krater, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, V6; (BA 214844), ARV² 1122.2; Padgett 2000: 64, fig. 2.7. See also bell-krater, Attic RF, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.149; (BA 28081); ARV² 1122.2; Padgett 2000: 65, fig. 2.8. From Italy, Chiusi; Later Mannerist; 450–440 BC.

between satyrs and donkeys and the hybrid nature of the former can influence the representation of the latter. On a chous in Karlsruhe,²²² a satyr is in the presence of a hybrid creature, a donkey-cock. The donkey-cock is most unusual, probably a parody of the *hippalektryon*.²²³ The presence of Dionysos in these scenes is intended to remind the viewer of the relationship between the god and his followers: master and slave.

What is unexpected and amusing is to find satyrs, in the presence of Dionysos, in an urban setting or performing human work. To find satyrs in a household is amusing. On a lekythos in Basel²²⁴ dated to the first decades of the fifth century, an old satyr is depilating a young woman, a function served exclusively by women.²²⁵ To quote Descœudres: 'one would hardly expect to encounter one of these wild fellows in a girl's room, let alone carrying out a delicate beauty treatment' (1981: 11; Lissarrague 1998). He explains this satyr as a 'benevolent being', a 'friendly household spirit'; but this ideal vision of satyrs is inconsistent with contemporary representations of satyrs. This is a satyr in the wrong place carrying out a girl's duty; it is a parody. On a lekythos formerly from the New York market (fig. 105),²²⁶ a satyr, stooping forward in front of a *klismos*, is looking into a mirror. He is in a woman's room. The reason for his bent position and legs tightly pressed together is to hide his phallos, which is protruding behind him: he is pretending to be a woman. On a red-figure lekythos in Tübingen,²²⁷ a satyr pretends to be a female servant handling wool above a *kalathos*.

On a pelike in Berkeley,²²⁸ two satyrs are washing dishes in a kitchen. They could be cooking, but there is no cauldron or fire in the scene.²²⁹ Above them and suspended in the background is a large saucepan and a wineskin. One satyr is crouching, holding a large basin with his knees while he puts both hands in the vessel. The other satyr is holding a water pail and hands the first satyr a small wine jug. On the other side of the vase, another satyr is running with a bucket and a pointed amphora. The wineskin and the

²²² Chous, Attic RF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B1513; (BA 9554); CVA, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 30, pl. 24.6-7, 430-440 BC. From Greece, Athens; 410-390 BC.

²²³ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1619; (BA 303461), ARV 483.1, Add² 122; CVA, München, Antikensammlungen Ehemals Museum Antiker Klein Kunst 9, pls. 29.4, 32.1-2, 34.4; Etruria, Vulci; Dot-Band Class; 340-330 BC.

²²⁴ Lekythos, Basel, Antikensammlung und Sammlung Ludwig, BS423; (BA 7672); CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 1, pl. 36.8, 10. Diosphos Painter; 500-490 BC.

²²⁵ Cup, Attic RF, University of Mississippi, University Museums, 1977.3.112; (BA 203411), ARV² 1605.331.20, Add² 217, Para 361; Descœudres 1981: fig. 2. From Greece; Manner of Onesimos; 505-480 BC. See also cup, Attic RF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese; (BA 352439), Add² 175, Para 333.9bis; Descœudres 1981: fig. 3. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Apollodoros; 510-500 BC.

²²⁶ Lekythos, Attic RF, New York Market (Once), Royal Athenae; (BA 30500), Sotheby's, *Sale catalogue* (23.5.1991) no. 73. Manner of Bowdoin Painter; 460-450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²²⁷ Lekythos, Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Arch. Inst., Z158; (BA 209075), ARV² 714.81.1668, Add² 281; Lissarrague 1987b: 72, fig. 13; CVA, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität, pl. 39.4-6. From Greece; Karlsruhe Painter; 470-450 BC.

²²⁸ Pelike, Attic RF, Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 8.4583; (BA 202385), ARV² 286.10, Add² 104, Add² 209, Para 353; Villard, L. (1992) 'Sur Quelques Vases de la Collection Hippocrate', BCH 116: 112, fig. 5. Geras Painter; 510-490 BC.

²²⁹ Squat lekythos, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1923; (BA 15228); JHS 85 (1965) pl. 10.1. 420-405 BC. See also cup fr., Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, PD425; (BA 203982), ARV² 576.84, Para 366; CVA, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4, pl. 125. Brygos Painter; 480-470 BC.



Figure 105. *Satyr in gynaceum mimicking a woman*. Lekythos, Attic RF, New York market (Once), Royal Athena; Manner of Bowdoin Painter; 460–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

wine jug indicate a Dionysian context: these facetious satyrs will not be able to keep up the pose much longer, as the satyr cooking with a stick crouching on a rock on a cup in New York.²¹⁰ On a cup formerly on the New York market,²¹¹ a satyr is holding a box.

²¹⁰ Cup, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021.177; (BA 209847); ARV² 797.138, *Add.* 290; *Greece and Rome* 28 (1981) pl. 1a. From Italy, Capua; Euaion Painter; 470–460 B.C. See further, however, Chapter 6, ‘Playing with Taboos: Who are the Satyrs?’ for a different interpretation of satyrs with regards to slaves and peasants.

²¹¹ Cup, Attic RF, Once New York Market, Christie’s (Once Toronto, Borowski); (BA 205374), ARV² 431.3, *Add.* 242; Leipen, N. et al. (1984) *Glimpses of Excellence, A Selection of Greek Vases and Bronzes from the Elie Borowski Collection*. Toronto: 17, no. 13; Oedipus Painter; 490–470 BC.

Behind him is a pelike placed on a block. He is in a household. In the tondo of a red-figure cup,²¹² a satyr is bending into a large chest, his upper body engulfed to the extent that his feet barely touch the ground. These chests were used to keep linen. Is the satyr trying to steal a cloak? Is he a curious satyr (Lissarrague 1993: 219) looking for food or drink? Or, having been caught by surprise, is he trying to hide? This scene brings out the animal side of satyrs. As in the series in which satyrs were jumping head first into wine kraters, this satyr throws himself forward without forethought. Satyrs, as Dionysos's slaves, are shown on some vases carrying symposium paraphernalia. For example, on a pelike formerly on the London market,²¹³ Dionysos follows a satyr who carries a stool on its head and a wineskin in one hand, and on a chous in Rome,²¹⁴ a satyr-boy brings a chair to Dionysos. But, on some vases, Dionysos is humanised to such an extent that he is shown as a drunken banqueter, as on two choes in Athens.²¹⁵ On the first chous, a satyr is helping its staggering master, who is wearing the *komast* band around his head, to walk straight while a satyr-boy is holding a torch behind them and a maenad walks ahead. Another comical scene shows Dionysos drunk leaning on his wife Ariadne on a cup in Würzburg.²¹⁶ On a calyx-krater in Tarquinia,²¹⁷ Dionysos, wearing the *komast* band and holding his kantharos in front of him, is walking towards a house. A satyr has been guiding him, holding a torch and an oinochoe. Another satyr, seated on the doorstep, is waiting for its master's return. Ariadne, depicted as a timid wife, holds her fingers to her mouth, as on a chous in New York (fig. 20),²¹⁸ and observes her husband's return from the inside of the half-open doors. On a cup in Rome,²¹⁹ a satyr is looking into an amphora, while another is punishing a satyr boy with a sandal. A third satyr, holding a wineskin, makes a gesture as though in discussion with the second satyr. The satyr boy may have drunk the wine from the amphora, which would explain why the first satyr is checking if there is any left and why the boy is about to be punished by the second satyr. The third satyr has brought a wineskin and seems to be entreating the second not to punish the satyr boy.

The motif of the sandal is found mainly in educational and erotic contexts: for example, Eros pursues a youth with a sandal on a cup in Berlin;²²⁰ Aphrodite is about to strike

²¹² Cup, Attic RF; (BA 20361); Lissarrague 1993: 100, fig. 15.

²¹³ Pelike, London market, Sotheby's; (BA 46932); Sotheby's, *Sale catalogue* (6.7.1995) 36, no. 72.

²¹⁴ Chous, Attic RF, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 50511; (BA 526); van Hoorn 1931: fig. 49, no. 904. Manner of Shuvalov Painter; 440–420 BC.

²¹⁵ Chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1218; (BA 216549), ARV² 1212.2, *Add* 347, LIMC III, pl. 340, s.v. 'Dionysos' 382. Near Shuvalov Painter; 440–420 BC. See also chous, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1219; (BA 216548), ARV² 1212.1, *Add* 347, *Para* 464, *Add* 171, LIMC III, 143, s.v. 'Dionysos' 383; Near Shuvalov Painter; 440–420 BC.

²¹⁶ Cup, Attic RF, Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum, L491; (BA 217226), ARV² 1270.17, *Add* 356; LIMC VII, pl. 97, s.v. 'Pandia' 8. From Italy, Spina; Codrus Painter; 440–420 BC.

²¹⁷ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC4197; (BA 213726), ARV² 1057.46, *Add* 157, *Add* 322, *Para* 443; Béard 1984: fig. 193; CVA, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, III.4, pl. 16.1–1. From Italy, Etruria, Tarquinia; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC.

²¹⁸ New York, 57.11.19.

²¹⁹ Vatican City, H169.

²²⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung; (BA 203057), ARV² 428.13, *Add* 116, *Add* 236, *Para* 174. CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, pls. 14.1–2, 15.1–2. From Italy, Etruria; Douris; 500–460 BC.



Figure 106. *Aphrodite about to beat Eros with her sandal*. Fr., Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, E114; Meidias Painter; 420–390 BC. Scanned photograph, after Watzinger 1924: pl. 32.

her son Eros on a fragment in Tübingen (fig. 106);³⁴¹ and in a sexual orgy, a *pornē* is about to be struck with a sandal on a cup in Paris.³⁴² It has also been used in a street fight, as on a cup in St. Petersburg.³⁴³ It is, however, the favourite ‘weapon’ of masters to chastise their servants. On a hydria in Würzburg,³⁴⁴ a young boy shows his back to the viewer with sandal marks all over his back and buttocks. His master is reclining with a young woman. On a chous in Paris (fig. 107),³⁴⁵ a man is holding in one hand a broken vase and in the other a sandal. His young slave is crouching over a broken piece of the

³⁴¹ Fr., Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, E114; (BA 2724); scanned photograph, after Watzinger 1924: pl. 32. Meidias Painter; 420–390 BC.

³⁴² Paris, Louvre, G13.

³⁴³ Cup, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B651; (BA 203327), *Para* 511; Pfuhl 1924: pl. 130, no. 406. From Italy, Capua; Onesimos; 505–480 BC.

³⁴⁴ Hydria, Attic RF, Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum, 530; (BA 2723); Beck 1975: pl. 53.274; Langlotz 1925: pl. 195, no. 530. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; 510–490 BC.

³⁴⁵ Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA493; (BA 10233); *R.A.* 25 (1927) pl. 2, fig. 5; Ruhfel, H. (1984) *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen*. Mainz: 137, fig. 75. From Greece, Euboea, Eretria; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 107. *Man hitting a boy with a sandal for breaking a wine jug.* Chous, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA493; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

vase on the floor, cowering from his master wrath. On an olpe in Berlin,¹⁴⁶ a draped man, leaning on his staff, beats a young boy with his sandal. This motif is also found in unexpected mythological scenes. On a lekythos in Athens,¹⁴⁷ Herakles has captured

¹⁴⁶ Olpe, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3230; (BA 330688), ABV 519.7, *Add.* 129; CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 7, pl. 39.3–5; Beck (1973) pl. 32.371, From Italy; Theseus Painter; 520–500 BC.

¹⁴⁷ Lekythos, Attic BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 516; (BA 305515), ABV 508, ABL 116; Brummer 1959: no. 81, figs. 30–2; *BCH* (1936) pls. 20–1. From Greece, Euboea, Eretria; Diosphos Painter; 500–490 BC. See also lekythos, Attic BF, Münster, Wilhelms-Universität, Archäologisches Museum, 784; (BA 34971); Simon 1982: pl. 33d–f; Stähler, K. (1980) *Heroen und Götter der Griechen*, Münster: no. 14; Gela Painter; 520–500 BC.



Figure 108. *Dionysos biting a satyr-servant with his sandal for breaking a wine jug.* Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Private collection; (BA 2725). Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

satyrs. Instead of wielding his club as he usually does, he threatens the satyrs with a sandal. The motif becomes particularly interesting when Dionysos strikes his satyr-slave, just as an Athenian master would do to his servant. On a pelike in Leipzig,²⁴⁸ Dionysos is shown punishing a satyr holding pipes. The scene is somewhat too human to be set in a mythological context; Dionysos is made to resemble a master beating his slave for playing wrongly or a pedagogue teaching his pupil.

On a red-figure chous (fig. 108),²⁴⁹ Dionysos is seated on a *klismos*. His thyrsos is leaning behind him against the *klismos*. He is pointing his finger at a satyr and threatening him with a sandal. The satyr seems panic-stricken. He has just dropped a vase, which is lying smashed on the ground. Had the painter forgotten to show Dionysos's thyrsos and a wineskin hanging in the background, one would think this was a trivial scene of everyday life in a household. The painter has taken pleasure in setting the symbols of antisocial 'otherness', Dionysos and a satyr, in a civilised context. There are no *klismoi* in the forest! The satyr's tail is shown brought forward between his legs, like a remorseful dog. He knows he has done something wrong and hopes that by keeping a submissive attitude he will avoid being beaten. The humour of this last painting arises from the unexpected fusion of mythology and everyday life.

²⁴⁸ Pelike, Attic RF, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universität, T643; (BA 202584), ARV² 286.9, Add¹ 104, Add² 209; Beck 1975: pl. 50.263; LIMC III, pl. 323, s.v. 'Dionysos' 260. Geras Painter; 510–490 BC.

²⁴⁹ Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Private collection; (BA 2725); Brommer 1959: 39, no. 155, fig. 33; Beck 1975: pl. 51.266; van Hoorn 1951: fig. 146, no. 350. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 109. A satyr showing his arse to Dionysos and Ariadne. Cup, Attic BF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: pl. 41.

3. THE SATYR, AN ANTI-HERO

We have seen earlier to what extremes and exaggerated behaviour satyrs will go in order to drink wine and mock every aspect of daily life. Not only do satyrs destabilise traditional iconography but they shake the very fabric of iconography! Satyrs are subversive elements. If satyrs can jump into kraters and play with the actual decoration of a vase, it seems probable that they could also be used to parody canonical mythological scenes. They are elements of disorder who by their mischievous presence make common scenes unexpected and surprising. 'Satyrs are *ipso facto* funny, regardless of their behaviour ... when they intervene in myth scenes which can have no reference to satyr play the intention is purely comic' (Boardman 2000: 241). Many scenes show satyrs rejoicing at their master's wedding with Ariadne, but in other scenes they seem jealous and show their discontent by turning around and showing their posterior, as on the so-called Phineus cup in Würzburg (fig. 109)¹⁰⁰ and on a bell-krater in Syracuse¹⁰¹ where Dionysos and Ariadne are shown shooing away two satyrs.

¹⁰⁰ Cup, Attic BF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: pl. 41.

¹⁰¹ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 23508; (BA 207104), ARV² 613.6, Add. 131, Add. 269, *Pinx.* 397; CVA, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.9, pl. 14-15.

Satyr plays were used to parody known mythological stories. The use of satyrs in parody is still controversial, although the idea has been proposed by a plurality of scholars since the late nineteenth century.²⁵² As soon as satyrs are found in place of famous heroes or at least pestering them, scholars have often turned to satyr plays to explain the presence of the satyrs in such unusual scenes. We have already seen how satyrs are used in the parody of everyday life in the Polis, thus, when satyrs bring crashing down the whole world of mythology from its highest spheres to the lowest most ludicrous situations, we should not be too surprised.

Before showing how satyrs were used to mock canonical mythological iconography and are not scenes inspired from literature or drama, I will discuss the theatrical interpretation of satyrs, the identification of actors of satyr play, and some scenes that may or may not have been inspired by satyr play.

Theatrical Interpretation: Satyr-play Representations

There was a reorganisation of the *Dionysia* during the fifth century²⁵³ in which the tetralogy system was created and the satyr play introduced as the fourth play following three tragedies. However, in 438 BC, Euripides presented a tetralogy in which the fourth play, *Alkestis*, was not a satyr play. For some authors, this is an exception to the rule (D. F. Sutton 1980: 134). For others, it is proof that the tetralogy was not a strict rule but rather a custom, which was not always adhered to (G. Giangrande 1963; Green and Handley 1995: 23).

The origin of the classical satyr play is unclear. Some authors consider that it may have originated in the sixth-century dithyramb, produced in honour of Dionysos. According to Herodotus (1.23) and Aristotle (*Ap. Proclus, Chrest.* 12), the dithyramb was introduced by the poet Arion of Methymna. He may also (Suidas, *s.v.* 'Arion') have introduced 'satyrs speaking verses'. Webster (1970: 11, 67) deduced from these different elements that Arion introduced dithyrambs of which the chorus was made up of men dressed as satyrs. We have a variety of animal choruses represented on vases since the sixth century BC, such as cocks choruses,²⁵⁴ or horse-riders,²⁵⁵ dolphin-riders,²⁵⁶ and even

Andreae, B. et al. (1996) *Ulisse, il Mito e la Memoria*. Rome: 136, fig. 2.35. From Sicily, Gela; Painter of the Woolly Satyrs; 450–440 BC.

²⁵² See Heydemann 1870: 9; Curtius 1894: 219; Amyx 1945: 517; Bérard 1966: 98–9; Himmelmann 1980: 65–8; Moret 1984: 140, fn. 5; and Lissarrague 2000b: 112, 117–18.

²⁵³ For discussions on the origins and development of Greek drama, see Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 1968: 58; Cornford 1993; Csapo and Slater 1994: 103–4; and Rhodes 2003: 106–7.

²⁵⁴ Amphora, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1830; (BA 2698), CVA, Deutschland 45, Berlin, Antikensammlung 5, pls. 43.1–2, 47.5. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; 500–480 BC. See also oinochoe, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B509; (BA 330555), ABV 473, ABL 214.187, *Para* 214, *Add* 119; Green and Handley 1995: fig. 3. Gela Painter; 520–500 BC. And see calyx-krater, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, S.82.AE.83; (BA 13689); *ARFH* II, fig. 314; Taplin 1993: pl. 24, no. 28; Green, J. R. (1995) *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*. London: fig. 2.9. Painter of Munich 2335; 440–420 BC.

²⁵⁵ Amphora, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1697; (BA 320396), ABV 297.17, *Add* 78; Hedreen 1992: pl. 39; CVA, Deutschland 45, Berlin 5, pl. 32.1. From Italy, Etruria, Cervetri; Painter of Berlin 1686; 550–530 BC.

²⁵⁶ Psykter, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L1979.17.1; (BA 275024), ARV² 166237bis, *Para* 326.7bis, *Add* 163; Sifakis 1967: 36–7, pl. 6. Olto; 525–500 BC.

ostrich-riders;²³⁷ however, Webster's satyr choruses differ greatly from the fifth-century satyr choruses of satyr plays, where the former were singers performing in honour of Dionysos and the latter were the choruses of theatrical performances. The first author of satyr plays may have been Pratinas, whose only known play, *Palaistra*, was produced by his son Aristias in 467 BC, perhaps as a posthumous revival. This play would have been performed before the tetralogy system was implemented.

Even if we may speculate that some authors, such as Choerilos or Phrynichos, wrote some satyr plays in the last years of the sixth century, what is certain is that from the time of Aeschylus onwards, satyr plays were performed regularly; thus satyr plays appear in the fifth century.

Unfortunately, the evidence is thin. Even for the fifth century, we possess only fragments of satyr plays. We are usually confronted with mere titles of plays. Before the discovery of papyri fragments in the course of the twentieth century, researchers worked on quotations from satyr plays in the writings of various ancient authors. Only two satyr plays are known to us in a substantial form: *Ichneutai* of Sophocles presented about 445 BC, and *Cyclops* of Euripides presented about 440 BC. According to Green and Handley: 'they [satyrs] often seem, in a 'carnavalesque' way, to have upset the status quo, the normal order of things, only to have order restored at the end of the play. Their function was one of humour and release' (1995: 23).

To look for the content of these lost plays in vase-paintings is highly tempting. It is also satisfying to scholars to seek literary parallels for incongruous pictures and to explain them through satyr plays. Most authors who have studied representations of satyr play associate specific satyr plays to some vases produced in the fifth century.²³⁸ The general tendency is to consider that vases illustrate drama and not that vase-painting was a popular art form with its own traditions. Similarly, when we turn to representations of Old Comedy, some cases are unsolvable, such as the krater in Malibu²³⁹ representing a cock chorus: it may be an illustration of Aristophanes' *Birds* (J. Green 1985a, 1985b), but then again it may not. Let us examine the details that indicate drama on vases and how to identify some possible scenes as inspired by satyr plays.

Signs of Drama on Vases

Satyr plays were parodies of known myths where the hero was never satyrised, but the chorus, made up of 12 to 15 actors, were disguised as satyrs. The criteria used to recognise a satyr player are a smooth or hairy loincloth (also called by some scholars trunks or shorts) to which actors attached a tail and an erect phallos; satyr masks are hand-held.

²³⁷ Skyphos, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 20.18; (BA 4090); Dasen 1993: pl. 39.1; Bieber 1961: 37, fig. 125a-b. Heron Group; 530-520 BC.

²³⁸ See Jahn 1868; Campo 1940; Buschor 1943; Brommer 1959; Bieber 1961; Webster 1967; D. E. Sutton 1980, 1984; Simon 1982; Seidensticker 1989; and Seidensticker et al. 1999.

²³⁹ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Malibu, The J.-Paul Getty Museum, S.82.AE.83; (BA 13689); ARFH II, fig. 314; Taplin 1993: pl. 24, no. 28; Green, J. R. (1995) *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*. London: fig. 2.9. Painter of Munich 2335; 440-420 BC.

A few scenes in which satyrs are in the presence of an *aulētēs* may have been inspired by satyr play.¹⁰⁰

In the tondo of a cup in Munich¹⁰¹ of the first decade of the fifth century, an actor, wearing satyr trunks to which are attached an erect phallos and a satyr's tail, walks towards a column-krater. He must be wearing a satyr mask. On three bell-krater fragments in Bonn¹⁰² produced towards the end of the fifth century, three men are wearing satyr trunks. These loincloths are hairy and a circled cross is painted on their sides, a motif found on most satyr trunks. In the centre of the scene, a draped figure is playing pipes. There is a column in the background, but the scene is too fragmentary to speculate on its context. Another actor, represented on a lebes in Athens,¹⁰³ is probably dancing the *sikkimis*, the typical satyr dance. On the left, a draped youth is leaning on his staff, and between both figures a man in a patterned *chiton* is playing pipes. These three scenes do not represent specific satyr plays but individual actors who could be rehearsing.

The famous Pronomos vase in Naples (fig. 110)¹⁰⁴ produced in the last decade of the fifth century, shows, on one side, actors of a satyr play and, on the other side, 'real' satyrs. The main actors are depicted on the first register. Dionysos and Ariadne recline on a couch. Eros extends his arms towards a seated woman holding a mask with an oriental headdress. Another actor, close by Dionysos, holds the mask of an oriental king. To the right, an actor with the mask and the costume of Herakles stands in conversation with an actor who wears the costume of Papposilenos. The chorus consists of twelve actors: Papposilenos, the leader of the chorus, then the leader of the half chorus who wears a short *chiton* and a mantle, and finally ten actors who wear goatskin loincloths. One satyr player, clearly distinguished from the others, wears his mask and dances between Pronomos, the *aulos*-player, and Demetrios, the poet, who holds a scroll. The other actors hold their masks in hand. If worn, satyr masks are impossible to distinguish from a 'real' satyr's face. Bieber (1961: 10)¹⁰⁵ hypothesised the existence of a lost play by an otherwise unknown Demetrios, which was possibly called *Hesione*, after the oriental princess beloved by Herakles and denied to him by her father Laomedon, the king of Troy, despite his promise to marry her to the hero after he had killed a sea monster. On the other side of the vase, Dionysos and Ariadne are surrounded by satyrs with thyrsos, one of them playing the pipes, and maenads wielding torches. None of the figures are wearing satyr trunks. This is a mythological scene, and the satyrs are 'real' satyrs: this is quite obvious from my illustration of two figures below a handle on either side of the vase. Because masks covered the entire head, painters provided other details to let

¹⁰⁰ It is insufficient as a sole indicator of satyr play; see above, Chapter 4, 'Athletics'.

¹⁰¹ Cup, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2637; (BA 204946), ARV² 475.267, *Add* 121, *Add* 246, *Para* 378; Viereisel 1990: 414, fig. 74.8a-b. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Makron; 490-470 BC.

¹⁰² Bell-krater Fr., Attic RF, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 1216.183-5; (BA 215629), ARV² 1180.3, *Para* 460; CVA, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1, pl. 32.11-1396-4, 440-420 BC.

¹⁰³ Lebes, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 13027; (BA 215628), ARV² 1180.2, *Para* 460; Brommer 1959: fig. 2; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 6b. From Greece, Athens, near Kallithea; 440-420 BC.

¹⁰⁴ Volute-krater, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81673; (BA 217500), ARV² 1336.1, 1704, *Add* 365, *Para* 480; Bieber 1961: 10, fig. 32; Hedreen 1992: pl. 32; scanned drawing, after Furtwängler et al. 1904: III, fig. 65; pls. 143-5. From Italy, Ruvo; Pronomos Painter; 420-390 BC.

¹⁰⁵ See also Brommer 1959: no. 104 and D. E. Sutton 1980: 90.



Figure 110. *Satyr player and satyr*. Volute-krater, Attic RF, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81673; Pronomos Painter, 420–390 BC. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: III, fig. 65, pls. 143–145.

the viewer distinguish actors represented on a vase from mythological beings. An actor wears the satyr trunks, a satyr does not.²⁶⁶

A hydria in Boston²⁶⁷ displays a very different kind of scene. Five dancing satyr players are wearing more than satyr trunks; they have complete body suits, which are identifiable from the termination at their wrists and ankles. They dance facing a man who wears

²⁶⁶ A unique representation (cop., Attic RF, Corinth, Archaeological Museum, CP885; (BA 231072), ARV² 1539.23, *Add.* 384, *Pinz* 500; *Hesperia* 45 (1976) pl. 92.48; Caruso 1984: fig. 5. From Corinth Q Painter, 400–350 BC) of a woman wearing the satyr trunks and dancing in front of a seated Dionysos has been interpreted by some (Caruso 1984: 103–40) as a ritual scene, and not theatrical, as women were not permitted to act on stage.

²⁶⁷ Hydria, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.788; (BA 206566), ARV² 571.75, *Add.* 128, *Add.* 261, *Pinz* 390; Boardman 2000: 211, fig. 225; *LIMC* VIII, pl. 770, s.v. 'Silenoi' 153. Leningrad Painter, 480–460 BC.

an elaborate dress and plays the pipes; he seems to be beating the time with his foot. Behind him is a man with puffed cheeks in a himation. He could be the *choregos*. The satyr players are carrying parts of a *klinē* or a throne. There have been many interpretations of this scene: 'Hephaistos's Return' (Simon 1982: 135-6); 'Preparation of a feast in honour of Dionysos' (Brommer 1959: 15); a representation of Aeschylus's *Thalamopoioi* (Webster 1950: 85-6). The figures, identified as actors, are performing a satyr play. They are not just rehearsing for a play. However, no connection to a specific play has yet been established convincingly.

On a bell-krater fragment in Oxford,²⁶⁸ a figure wearing satyr trunks is dancing beside a man holding a torch. This fragment has been connected to eight other vases with satyrs shown pestering Prometheus. From the name PROM[E]TH[EUS] inscribed on a calyx-krater in Oxford,²⁶⁹ it is very probable that many of these vases bear representations of Prometheus being pestered by satyrs. For example, on a bell-krater in Gotha,²⁷⁰ a male bearded figure in patterned *chiton* and holding a torch is surrounded by satyrs and a papposilenos wielding a staff and a torch. On the calyx-krater in Oxford, the satyrs have lit their torches from Prometheus's *narthex* but none of them are wearing trunks, nor do the satyrs on any other of the vases depicting this scene. Moreover, as Beazley points out (1939: 628-9), only a very few scenes show Prometheus wielding a *narthex*;²⁷¹ in the others, he holds a torch. The figure of 'Prometheus' could in fact be Dionysos. In which case, the Oxford bell-krater fragment may also represent Dionysos and not Prometheus.

It has been proposed (D. F. Sutton 1980: 25) that these scenes were inspired from a satyr play by Aeschylus, *Prometheus Pyrkaeus* (Mette 1959: Frr. 455, 456) based on a line in Pollux (10.4). If this play was indeed the one performed under the title *Prometheus*, as the conclusion to the tetralogy of the *Persians*, it was performed in 472 BC. Since the nine vases under discussion were produced around 440 BC or later, they were not contemporary to Aeschylus's play. However, they may have been inspired by earlier but now lost vases, which themselves were inspired by the play. The use of this *stemmatic-type* methodology to vase-painting is nevertheless inherently risky. Ultimately, the only and very shaky evidence to link these vases to a specific satyr play is the one figure wearing satyr trunks on one small vase fragment in Oxford.

Satyrs' playful, teasing activities often include badgering heroes, but there is no compelling need to turn to drama to explain such pictures. Often iconography alone can easily provide an adequate interpretation. On a column-krater in Athens,²⁷² Prometheus has just thrashed two satyrs with his torch who, as a consequence, are rubbing their backs

²⁶⁸ Bell-krater fr., Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1927.4; (BA 213565), ARV² 1046.10; LIMC VII, pl. 421, s.v. 'Prometheus' 4; CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 2, 122, pl. (430) 66.40. From Italy, Taranto; Lykaon Painter; Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

²⁶⁹ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1937.983; (BA 215266), ARV² 1133.13, *Add.* 336, *Para* 457; ARFH II, fig. 181. Dinos Painter; 440-420 BC.

²⁷⁰ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Gotha, Schlossmuseum, 75; (BA 217480), ARV² 1334.19, *Add.* 365; CVA, Gotha, Schlossmuseum 2, pls. 59.1, 60.1-3; LIMC VII, pl. 422, s.v. 'Prometheus' 17. From Italy, Capua; Nikias Painter; 410-390 BC.

²⁷¹ Gotha, 75.

²⁷² Column-krater, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1167; (BA 216173), ARV² 1104.6, *Para* 451; Brommer 1959: fig. 44. From Greece, Athens; Orpheus Painter; 450-430 BC.

and chests. As we will see in the next scenes with Herakles, satyrs like to steal. What then could be more amusing than to harass Prometheus? Prometheus is the most-renowned thief in mythology, having robbed the mighty Zeus himself of his fire. Satyrs stealing Prometheus's stolen fire is a comical reversal of the initial situation. Once again, we have a trickster tricked at his own game. On a black-figure oinochoe in Oxford²⁷³ produced in the 530s before satyr plays were first introduced in Athens, Dionysos, while reclining, is watching intently a satyr dance before him. While thus engrossed, another satyr robs him of his wineskin. In Greek, *kleptein* means to steal, but it also means 'to rape' (Henderson 1975: 156, S232), which would suit satyrs pretty well.²⁷⁴

Beazley (1963b) and other scholars²⁷⁵ brought together a number of vases on which satyrs steal Herakles' weapons. They range in date from the last decade of the sixth century until the end of the fifth. On a volute-krater in Padula,²⁷⁶ crawling satyrs are stealing Herakles' weapons in his sleep. To the left of the scene, a man dressed in a long robe is playing the pipes. This figure is the only indication of stage on this vase. Beazley connected this scene to a lost play by Pratinas, but if this is so, why were the satyrs not wearing satyr trunks? Was the painter simply careless, or was the depiction of an *aulos*-player felt to be sufficient to indicate the theatre? As discussed elsewhere, the presence of an *aulos*-player can have a completely different meaning depending on the particular context in vase-painting (fig. 97).²⁷⁷

Vase-painters are not usually careless in their choice of details. The presence of the *aulos*-player might indicate that he had seen a satyr play or a comedy about Herakles being robbed in his sleep. He may also have interwoven in the same composition a stock vase-painter's theme and his own experience of the theatre. Many interpretations are possible; however, none of the other scenes depicting Herakles being robbed in his sleep contain any theatrical signs whatsoever. A miniature psykter in Brussels (fig. 111),²⁷⁸ produced in the same decade as the Padula krater, shows Herakles asleep. A satyr is bending over the hero, while another is walking away holding Herakles' sword and an arrow. On the other side of the psykter, a crawling satyr is holding an arrow, and another satyr is running off with Herakles' quiver. Similarly, on a black-figure lekythos in Montpellier,²⁷⁹ Herakles is robbed in his sleep. And yet another similar scene is depicted on a hydria in Salerno,²⁸⁰ produced between the last decade of the sixth and the first decade of the fifth century.

²⁷³ Oinochoe, Attic BF White Ground, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.105; (BA 330778), ABV 525.13, Para 263. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC.

²⁷⁴ For *kleptein* as the wrongful acquisition by force or against the will of the owner, see D. Cohen 1983: 17.

²⁷⁵ Karouzou 1936; McPhee 1979; and Lissarrague 1988a.

²⁷⁶ Volute-krater, Attic RF, Padula, Museo Archeologico della Lucania Occidentale TxLii CR.V; (BA 275631), ARV² 1608, 1699, Para 393.19bis; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 7. From Italy, Padula; 490–470 BC.

²⁷⁷ Munich, 2381.

²⁷⁸ Psykter, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A1312; (BA 10981); CVA, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 3, pl. 27. 4. From Greece, Athens Agora; 510–500 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the Museum.

²⁷⁹ Lekythos, Attic BF, Montpellier, Musée Fabre, 836.4.339; (BA 32023); Lissarrague 1988a: 147, no. 99–520–500 BC.

²⁸⁰ Hydria, Attic RF, Salerno, Museo Nazionale, 1371; (BA 201759), ARV² 188.67, Add 94, Add 188, Para 341; Frontisi-Ducroux 1995: pl. 25. From Italy, Fratte; Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.



Figure 111. *Satyrs stealing Herakles' weapons in his sleep*. Psykter, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, A1312; 510–500 BC. Photograph, courtesy of the Museum.

On a hydria in the Vatican²⁸ painted at a later date, satyrs are shown running away from Herakles who has just awoken. He had fallen asleep on his lion skin while reclining on a long structure. Simon (1982: 136–7) interprets this scene as a representation of a satyr play by Aeschylus, *Leon* (POxy 20.2256, fr. 69), of which very little is preserved (D. F. Sutton 1980: 23). This concerned Herakles' fight with the Nemean lion. Simon

²⁸ Hydria, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16509; (BA 207227), ARV² 623.72, *Add.* 271; LIMC V, pl. 145, s.v. 'Herakles' 3234; Simon 1982: fig. 36. Villa Giulia Painter; 460–440 BC.

suspects that the lion shown in the Vatican painting has not yet been skinned, but a closer inspection of the animal's paws and legs shows that in fact it has been skinned. Herakles is resting but not necessarily because of his recent fight with the Nemean lion. On one side, the satyrs are running away with his quiver, and on the other with his bow and club.

On a cup in Ferrara,²⁵⁰ satyrs are fleeing from the sleeping Herakles, carrying away his bow, quiver, club, and even his lion skin. The cup was produced in the 440s, at least sixty years after the krater in Padula and the psykter in Brussels. There are no signs of dramatic performance in this scene. Even if the earlier Padula krater was linked to the theatre, by the time the Ferrara cup was produced the leitmotif of a sleeping Herakles being robbed by satyrs had already become a stock scene (Lissarrague 1989: 264). On a pelike in Munich,²⁵¹ contemporary to the Ferrara cup, satyrs have stolen Herakles' club and are trying to pilfer his corselet from his funeral pyre. In this scene, Herakles is not asleep, he is ascending in a chariot to the Olympus (Athena is holding the horse's bridle). Nymphs with hydriai are extinguishing the fire. This pelike could best be compared to a calyx-krater in New York,²⁵² produced slightly later. It shows a very similar composition of Herakles' *Apotheosis*, where women carrying hydriai are also trying to extinguish the flames of the hero's funeral pyre. In this scene, however, there are no satyrs to pilfer the hero's belongings. The pelike in Munich may be a parody of the traditional representation of Herakles' *Apotheosis*.

With the one exception of the Padula krater and its *aulos*-player, not a single scene depicting Herakles being robbed by satyrs shows a theatrical connotation. All are based on the same comical motif of Herakles' temporary powerlessness. Herakles, the strongest, proudest, and most reckless hero in Greek mythology, is powerless. In these scenes, satyrs, as always, are cowards and mischievous characters who take advantage of the indisposition of the hero (who is shown either asleep or ascending to Olympus) so as to pilfer his weapons. This series of vases starts in the late sixth century and continues throughout the fifth. It was, therefore, a comical motif already known in black-figure and treated in various fashions in later red-figure.

The *Return of Hephaistos* (Tables 6A–B, 13) is another traditional scene dating traditionally from at least the early sixth century. On the François Vase (fig. 112)²⁵³ dated traditionally to the 570s BC, a drunk Hephaistos rides a mule among ithyphallic satyrs. On a calyx-krater in Vienna,²⁵⁴ Hephaistos, with a wineskin, hammer, and tongs, walks

²⁵⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T269 (15.365); (BA 247224), ARV² 1270.15, *Add* 356; Berti, E. and Gasparri, C. (eds.), (1989) *Diomysos: Mito e Mistero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3–5 novembre 1989*. Ferrara: fig. 87.36. From Italy, Spina; Codrus Painter; 440–420 BC.

²⁵¹ Munich, 2360.

²⁵² Calyx-krater, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 52.11.18; (BA 14714); Boardman 1986: pl. 22.1–2, 400–350 BC.

²⁵³ Florence, 4209. After Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904–32: pl. 11. See also a late seventh, early sixth century BC, Corinthian phiale mesomphalos found in Perachora and now at the British School in Athens. See Seeberg 1965: pl. XXIIIa.

²⁵⁴ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 985; (BA 206838), ARV² 591.20, *Add* 129, *Add* 264, *Pura* 394; CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, pl. 101.1–2; Brommer 1937: pl. 3.3; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 28a. Altamura Painter; 480–460 BC.



Figure 112. *The return of Hephaistos*. (see fig. 46) Volute-krater, Attic BF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209. Scanned drawing, after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: pl. 11.

in the company of Dionysos who is holding a thyrsos and a kantharos. An actor of satyr play, playing the kithara and wearing the smooth satyr trunks decorated with a cross, leads the group. This is the only example from at least one hundred and fifty scenes of Hephaistos's Return, which depicts a satyr player. While it may be a good illustration of the interplay between drama and vase-painting, it is not necessarily an example of a direct inspiration from a specific scene in a play. Also, contrary to Brommer's suggestion (1937: 12-16) that Hephaistos walking alongside the mule instead of riding it is a proof of theatrical inspiration, it is just an artistic variant of the scene. A bell-krater formerly in Paris²⁸ has been considered to be a representation of Hephaistos's Return. From left to right, one sees a bearded man holding an upright thyrsos, a second bearded man standing empty-handed, and a satyr player dancing on a platform. Nothing whatsoever in this scene recalls Hephaistos's Return. The *Return of Hephaistos* existed a century before the krater in Vienna and antedates by many decades the creation of comedy and satyr play. It is such a traditional scene that the krater in Vienna's sole theatrical connotation could be considered as a way of saying to the viewer: 'this is a funny story as are satyr plays'. Maybe even more funny are a number of vases²⁹ where satyrs are shown raping

²⁸ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Paris market; (BA 213669), ARV² 1053.39; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 28b. Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

²⁹ Cup, Attic BF, White-Ground, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 12.234.4; (BA 331759), ARV² 630.2, Add¹ 145; Brommer 1937: pl. 2.21; CVA, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2, pls. 32.49a-f, 42-49. Painter of Louvre F120; 530-520 BC. See also calyx-krater, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G162; (BA 201699), ARV² 186.47, Add¹ 93, Add² 187; Brommer 1937: 7.12; CVA, Paris, Louvre 2, III.JC.9, III.JC.10, pls. 12.8, 13.2.5.8, 14.1.6, 17.1-3. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci (?); Kleophrades Painter; 505-475 BC.

Hephaistos's mule. Not only are the non-theatrical representations overwhelming, but they were already depicted many decades before satyr plays were first produced. Finally, by way of conclusion, the *Return of Hephaistos* can be seen as a special case in the sense that it is already a comic story in its own right.

On a fragmentary oinochoe in Thorikos,²⁹⁹ three satyr players wearing smooth satyr trunks are playing around a chariot. One of the figures mounts the chariot drawn by the other two, acting as horses. On a stamnos in Boston³⁰⁰ produced earlier in the fifth century, a satyr is driving a chariot drawn by other satyrs. On the other side of the vase, Dionysos with vine and thyrsos, surrounded by maenads with thyrsos and rocks, defeats a giant. One should not forget the extraordinary scene on a lekythos in Paris described earlier³⁰¹ where satyrs carry ithyphallic donkeys on their backs: the natural order of things is turned upside down. In the Polis, satyrs are often shown preparing for war in the context of the *Gigantomachies*. It is sometimes difficult to assess how serious their role is as Dionysos's foot soldiers: satyrs acting as horses is but one example among many others of their outrageous activities in iconography. From all the arguments I have advanced in the preceding pages, I would maintain most of these scenes were not inspired by satyr play.

Satyrs, Stock Themes, and Iconographical Parody

Pestering and Harassing Satyrs

We have seen scenes in which satyr players were rehearsing for a play, and others that could be representations of satyr plays. In most scenes, the satyr players were not the main protagonists but the chorus, harassing the main character. In the Prometheus and Herakles series, some vases seem to have theatrical connotations. In many scenes, however, which I discuss below, satyrs pester mythological characters with no iconographical reference to drama whatsoever.

On a calyx-krater fragment in Syracuse,³⁰² Triptolemos is seated in a winged chariot. He holds a sceptre and corn. Below, to his right, a satyr, named Ko[mos], could be dancing the *sikkinis*. This vase was produced in the second half of the fifth century and attributed by Beazley to the Group of Polygnotos. Three other vases, attributed to the same artist, show Triptolemos seated in a winged chariot but without the presence of the satyr. There are a few other discrepancies: on two vases, Triptolemos holds a phiale,³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Oinochoe fr., Attic RF, Thorikos, Excavation, TC75.274; (BA 390546); Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 5b. From Thorikos, 460–440 BC.

³⁰⁰ Stamnos, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 00.142; (BA 206926), ARV² 598.4, 1661, Para 394. Add 263; LIMC VIII, pl. 768, s.v. 'Silenoi' 135. From Greece, Athens; Blenheim Painter; 450–430 BC.

³⁰¹ Paris, Louvre, CA1730.

³⁰² Calyx-krater fr., Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 24114; (BA 213524), ARV² 1041.1; LIMC VIII, pl. 40, s.v. 'Triptolemos' 129. From Sicily, Camarina; Manner of Peleus Painter; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC.

³⁰³ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Los Angeles, County Museum, 50.8.23; (BA 213473), ARV² 1036.4, Add 155, Add 318; LIMC VIII, pl. 646, s.v. 'Persephone' 123. Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC. See also stamnos, Attic RF, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 80190; (BA 213477), ARV² 1036.6, 1679; LIMC VIII, pl.

and on the third, Triptolemos is mounting the chariot.²⁹⁴ The krater fragment in Syracuse has been considered by Brommer (1959: 46) to be a representation of Sophocles' satyr play *Triptolemos*, but, according to D. E. Sutton (1984: 126), *Triptolemos* was a tragedy. For D. E. Sutton, this vase shows a representation of a hypothetical satyr play by an anonymous author!

The satyr is not wearing satyr trunks, and nothing in the scene recalls satyr play but a satyr at play. Representations of Triptolemos are known from the mid-sixth century, as on a neck-amphora in Munich,²⁹⁵ and there are more than a hundred and sixty vases that show this scene in black- and red-figure. The Beazley Archive database shows more than thirty-five black-figure and more than 130 red-figure vases with this Triptolemos. If on one single vase²⁹⁶ a satyr is among the usual figures and yet there is no sign of drama, this satyr has evidently been introduced by the painter to badger the hero. As the scene is too fragmentary, it is pointless to speculate any further. This scene is surprising, probably comical, but it is not related to the theatre. I have alluded to the more than fragmentary state of satyr plays. How can one compare a few lines or, in some cases, a title of a lost satyr play, of which the content is almost entirely guesswork, to scenes on vases? To speculate on hypothetical works by unknown authors seems to be an unreliable and inadequate methodology to employ, especially when the technique of iconographical comparison can often provide an acceptable and satisfying interpretation of the scene. As Bérard writes: 'there is an abyss between literary drama and satyric imagery' (Bérard and Bron 1991: 311).²⁹⁷ Intertextuality is an accepted notion in textual criticism. In the same way, images refer to other images (Moret 1984: 139-41).

A good illustration of this problem is a scene depicted on a bell-krater in Syracuse.²⁹⁸ Dionysos, thyrsos in hand, removes a cloak from a satyr who is walking to the left in the direction of the front door of a building. To the right, a woman shoos away a satyr who is crouching on all fours and is bending forward in order to exhibit his backside. This scene has been considered by many scholars to be a representation of a satyr play, although there are no elements that could evoke a stage performance. The satyrs are not actors wearing woolly costumes. This painter is keen on representing woolly satyrs, hence the name Beazley gave him, 'the painter of the woolly satyrs'. Some (Brommer 1959: 128; D. E. Sutton 1980: 17) have thought it to be a representation of Aeschylus's *Kirke*: 'a witch-like woman thrusts her hands, perhaps making magical passes' writes Sutton (1984: 121). When Dionysos and Ariadne are together in vase-paintings they are

²⁹⁴ 647, s.v. 'Persephone' 136; CVA, Firenze, Regio Museo Archeologico 2, III.1.51, III.1.52, pls. 48.5, 56.1-2. Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

²⁹⁵ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 424; (BA 213483), ARV² 1036.12; LIMC VIII, pl. 845, s.v. 'Persephone' 87. From Italy, Cumae; Group of Polygnotos; 440-430 BC.

²⁹⁶ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1539 (J543); (BA 11); CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, pls. 398.4, 402.1-2, 412.2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Leagros Group; Chiusi Painter; 520-500 BC.

²⁹⁷ Syracuse, 24114.

²⁹⁸ See also Bérard 1983: 48-9.

²⁹⁹ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 23508; (BA 207104), ARV² 613.6, Add 131, Add 269, Para 397; CVA, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.1.9, pl. 14.1; Andrae, B. et al. (1996) *Ulisse, il Mito e la Memoria*. Rome: 136, fig. 2-35. From Sicily, Gela; Painter of the Woolly Satyrs; 450-440 BC.

almost always shown at their wedding, escorted by satyrs.²⁹⁹ In wedding scenes, a door often signifies the bridal chamber, and the bride wears a special veil to cover her head. The scene on the Syracuse krater is a parody of Dionysos and Ariadne's wedding. The satyrs are pestering them instead of serving them. The one to the left has run off with Ariadne's bridal veil, pretending to be the bride, and the satyr to the right is showing his backside to Ariadne 'in the same rude way as a silen in front of Dionysos and Ariadne on the Würzburg Phineus cup' (Simon 1975: 84-5) (fig. 109)³⁰⁰. 'This is an old joke' (Simon 1982: 133).

Many scenes in which 'real' satyrs harass female mythological figures have been considered to be representations of specific satyr plays. Amymone was one of the daughters of Danaos, king of Argos. She was searching for springs with her sisters as there was a drought in Argos. Tired from the search, she went to sleep. She was then threatened with rape by a satyr. She cried out to Poseidon for help. He frightened the satyr away and showed her a spring (Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 169). In vase-paintings, Amymone is shown holding a hydria and fighting off the satyrs. In some scenes, she faces Poseidon while satyrs crawl away, as on a calyx-krater in Athens.³⁰¹ On a bell-krater in the Vatican,³⁰² Poseidon is shown chasing the satyrs away. The traditional depiction is shown on a bell-krater in Vienna:³⁰³ satyrs, some covered with animal skins, are attacking Amymone, who holds a hydria. As far as I am aware, no-one has ever evoked satyr plays to account for the innumerable scenes in which satyrs chase maenads. Pursuing women seems to be a natural activity for them. There are more than ten vases with Amymone defending herself against pursuing satyrs or Poseidon. They are considered to be representations of Aeschylus's *Amymone* (POxy 20.2256, fr. 3) by a number of scholars.³⁰⁴ There are none of the expected clues of drama on these vases; no satyr trunks, no *aulos*-player, and no masks. Amymone is pursued by satyrs, just as they chased maenads. This was a stock vase-painter's theme.

Iris the messenger is also harassed on several vases by sexually aroused satyrs. In most scenes, she holds an oxtail.³⁰⁵ In some, she is attacked at an altar, as on a cup in London (fig. 66) and another in Boston.³⁰⁶ She is attacked when she has descended from the sky³⁰⁷ or when she is about to fly away.³⁰⁸ These images and others of Iris have been discussed elsewhere.³⁰⁹ As with Amymone, none of the vases with depictions of Iris's struggle with

²⁹⁹ New York, 17.230.5.

³⁰⁰ See cup, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum.

³⁰¹ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12596; (BA 16377); LIMC III, pl. 37, s.v. 'Dionysos' 748; Brommer 1959: 20, fig. 12. 380-340 BC.

³⁰² Bell-krater, Attic RF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 9103; (BA 218080), ARV² 1438.1. 380-340 BC.

³⁰³ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 694; (BA 215306), ARV² 1155.6, *Add.* 337; Seidensticker et al. 1999: pl. 18a; CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, pl. 117.3-6. Manner of Dinoo Painter; 440-420 BC.

³⁰⁴ See Brommer 1959: 24-7 and D. F. Sutton 1980: 14, 1984: 121.

³⁰⁵ Berlin market (Once); (BA 211713).

³⁰⁶ London, E65; Boston, Res.08.30.a.

³⁰⁷ Munich, 2591.

³⁰⁸ London, E65.

³⁰⁹ See Chapter 3, 'Lustful and Greedy Iris'.

satyrs show any theatrical signs. As one of the lesser gods, Iris is easily ridiculed, as in Aristophanes' plays (*Av.* 1253–6). She is also mocked for her sexual appetite, dropping her *kerykeion* in pursuit of a young man, as on neck-amphora in Naples (fig. 64).¹¹⁰ It is unnecessary and superfluous to interpret these scenes as representations of specific satyr plays or to say they were inspired by hypothetical satyr plays. It is fruitless to look for tenuous connections with satyr play when satyrs are plainly acting according to their nature. The Boston cup is all the more interesting because the whole decoration is comical. In its tondo, a satyr is copulating with a prostitute who holds a supplementary dildo, as if a satyr was not potent enough. Moreover, as the followers of Dionysos, satyrs do not belong inside the city space, not to say a town brothel. On the exterior (fig. 42) is an unusual representation of the *Ilioupersis*, which is discussed elsewhere.¹¹¹

Two final scenes need to be discussed briefly: one is a black-figure cup in the Vatican¹¹² and the other a red-figure cup in Tartu.¹¹³ The first shows a number of figures running. On one side, Hermes and Athena help Perseus flee from a Gorgon, while on the other side, a satyr seems to be pursuing the Gorgon, as if she were a maenad. He holds his erect penis as he runs towards her. Another Gorgon runs behind Athena and Perseus, while another satyr, behind her, with a raised palm, tries to engage in conversation. The cup in Tartu shows, on both sides, Theseus wrestling with the Marathonian Bull and a satyr observing the heroic feat.

Satyrs Mimicking Heroes and Gods

This section focuses on scenes in which satyrs are not shown alongside but rather in place of known mythological figures. These scenes cannot have been inspired by drama because, as underlined earlier, in satyr plays, the hero is never a satyr but he is often surrounded by a chorus of satyrs. Odysseus remains Odysseus in Euripides' play, but his sailors are played by satyr actors. In satyr play, the chorus of satyrs is there to pester the hero and transform the play into a tragi-comedy; without satyrs, the play would be a serious dramatic version of a known myth.

Herakles On a neck-amphora in Munich,¹¹⁴ a satyr is about to rape a mule; he has grabbed the mule's tail and keeps a firm grip on its rear. The scene is similar to others discussed elsewhere. But it differs in that, on the other side, another satyr, wearing a leopard skin and wielding a thyrsos in transposed imitation of Herakles, comes running

¹¹⁰ Neck-amphora, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

¹¹¹ See Chapter 3, 'The Ilioupersis' and Chapter 5, 'Sack of Troy'. On the Ilioupersis, see Lesky 1961; Moret 1973; and Connelly 1993.

¹¹² Cup, Attic BF, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 335; (BA 300488), ABV 57.111. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; C Painter; 575–550 BC.

¹¹³ Cup, Attic RF, Voronezh, University, 105; (BA 210379); ARV² 822.19. From Italy, Capua; Boot Painter; 460–440 BC.

¹¹⁴ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2335A; (BA 207385), ARV² 637.34; (Vierneisel 1990: 407, 414, figs. 72.2, 74.8a–b); CVA, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2, pls. 53.1–2, 56.1–2. From Italy, Capua; Providence Painter; 460–440 BC.

towards the bestial embrace. The lion skin has been transformed into a *pardalis* and the knotted club into a thyrsos, and the heroic attitude of the satyr – he has come to rescue the animal – all add up in a viewer's mind to a 'heroic scene'. But this satyr is no hero. Either he wants to keep the mule for himself, or the scene is a parody of a heroic rescue, like Deianeira's by Herakles. On a similar cup in Paris,¹¹⁵ two satyrs play with a horse. One of them pulls his tail from behind and holds a stick with which he will probably beat the animal, and another, in front, stops the horse with a wineskin. Another satyr wearing Herakles' attire is shown on an askos in Oxford:¹¹⁶ he is running towards a fox caught in a trap, having been lured there by an ox-foot. Satyrs seldom fight except when wine is involved. On a skyphos in St. Petersburg (fig. 77),¹¹⁷ a satyr is protecting three amphorae against assault by another satyr who approaches him dressed up and holding a stick. The first satyr holds his fists and body in a typical boxing posture.

On a hydria in Champaign-Urbana,¹¹⁸ Herakles strides to the left, carrying apples in his left arm and with his right waves his club above his head. Three women stand in the centre of the scene. To the right, a snake is coiled around a fruit tree bearing apples. This scene depicts a version of one of Herakles' deeds: to bring back to Eurystheus the golden apples of the Garden of the Hesperides. In some depictions, Atlas helps Herakles, as in the literary evidence (Apollod. 1.3.51; 2.5.10–11, Paus. 2.13.8; 5.18.4); in others, the Hesperides themselves offer him the apples. Our hydria shows the latter version. Traditionally, the guardian of the tree was a fierce dragon with a hundred heads, an offspring of Typhon and Echidna. In some depictions, were it not for the apples and the presence of the young Hesperides, a viewer could confuse this scene with the Hydra of Lerna. This is why the monster is often depicted as a snake. Sometimes, Herakles is shown attacking the monster without the help of the Hesperides. On a fragmentary volute-krater in Malibu,¹¹⁹ Atlas, at the far right, stands holding up the sky; Herakles, naked except for his lion skin, approaches the apple tree of the Hesperides. A many-headed snake guards it. Herakles approaches from the left, wielding his club with his left hand, and is getting ready to pluck the apple with the right. On a chous in London (fig. 2),¹²⁰ a satyr, identifiable from his horse tail and ears, his snub nose, and scruffy hair and beard, approaches a snake coiled around the trunk of a tree. The satyr wields a club in his right hand and bears a hunter's or a hero's *chlamys* across his left arm and shoulder. The reference to the Hesperides and Herakles is clear from the details of the club, the snake, the tree, and its fruit. To see a satyr in a heroic posture mimicking Herakles' actions is comical enough, but the painter has altered yet another detail so as to underline his parody. As satyrs are

¹¹⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, F128; ARV² 51, 58.50, Add 79, Add³ 162, 164; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 10, III.B.4, pls. 3.3–6, 4.1; Pottier 1897: vol. 2, pl. 73, F128. Olton; 525–500 BC.

¹¹⁶ Oxford, 539.

¹¹⁷ St. Petersburg, 834.

¹¹⁸ Hydria, Attic, Champaign-Urbana, Krannert Art Museum, 70.8.4; (BA 5159); LIMC V, pl. 288, s.v. 'Hesperides' 7; CVA, Urbana-Champaign, Krannert Art Museum, pl. 22. Syracuse Painter.

¹¹⁹ Krater, Attic RF, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.11; (BA 201704), ARV² 187.52, 206.130, Add 94, Add³ 188; LIMC VII, pl. 200, s.v. 'Peleus' 176; J. Paul Getty Museum Journal 4 (1977) 64–9, figs. 1–12. Kleophrades Painter; 405–475 BC. See also lekythos, Attic BF, Athens National Museum, 1132; (BA 330739), ABV 522, ABL 256.50, 150, 155; Immerwahr 1990: pl. 25.107. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC.

¹²⁰ London, British Museum, E539.



Figure 113. *Satyr-Perseus carrying Medusa's head*. Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1728; Cl. Class: 470–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

always gluttons, and apples, golden or otherwise, would not interest them, the painter has drawn wine jugs in place of the expected apples. The dynamics of parody operate here in two distinct directions: Herakles is mocked but so is the satyr. To parody a model is to pay homage to it. A parody would not exist without its 'serious' original. Herakles, however, is not the ideal model of virtue, as we have seen in various scenes.

Perseus In contrast to the satyrs pursuing Perseus and the Gorgon we have discussed above,¹³² a lekythos in Paris (fig. 113)¹³³ shows a satyr carrying a *harpe* and a severed

¹³² Vatican City, 333; see p. 263.

¹³³ Lekythos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1728; (BA 207941), ARV² 677.10; Brounner 1959: 53, fig. 15, cat. 36; LIMC VII, pl. 276, s.v. 'Perseus' 31. From Greece, Boeotia; Cl. Class: 470–450 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 114. *Perseus fleeing with Medusa's head*. Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E181; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

head (with eyes closed in death) in a bag. His attributes are those of Perseus himself, flying away, *harpe* in hand after cutting off Medusa's head. Although the satyr does not have wings attached to his ankles, he is represented running well above the ground level. This scene has been considered by D. F. Sutton (1984: 125) to be a representation of a *hypothetical lost play* by an unknown author involving Perseus. Just taking a few examples from among many that exist, such as a lekythos from the London market,¹²¹ a hydria (fig. 114), and a pelike in London¹²² are sufficient to show that the scene was in fact a leitmotif. With the exception of a few minor differences, the attitude of the hero is always the same with him running *harpe* in hand and carrying Medusa's head in his *kibisis*. So why was it necessary for the painter to change the hero to a satyr? The answer is simple, because by so doing it made the scene comical. Satyrs are always cowards and so cannot ever be heroes. It was amusing to debase a hero such as Perseus by replacing him with a satyr.

Medea and Pelias's Successful Rejuvenation On a bell-krater in Ancona,¹²³ an old satyr with white hair, stooped over a crooked cane, is being pulled by the arm towards

¹²¹ Lekythos, Attic RF, London market; (BA 275361), ARV² 1668; LIMC VII, pl. 300, s.v. 'Perseus' 163; Sotheby's, *Sale catalogue*, 5.3. (1962) at p. 28. Aschimes Painter; 470–450 BC.

¹²² Hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E181; (BA 206339), ARV² 555.96, 1639, *Add* 126, *Add* 258; LIMC VII, pl. 299, s.v. 'Perseus' 161. From Italy, Capua; Pan Painter; 480–460 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell. Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E399; (BA 213766), ARV² 1060.136; LIMC VII, pl. 296, s.v. 'Perseus' 141. From Italy, Nola; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC.

¹²³ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 3398 (105); (BA 7241); Brummer 1959: cat. 105, fig. 59; Meyer, H. (1980) *Medea und die Pelliden*. Rome: pl. 26, 2–3; Seidenstücker et al. 1999: p. 23.

the rock. To the satyr's right is Dionysos, the satyr's master and protector, holding his thyrsos. On the New York krater, Jason, in the identical stance as the satyr, is about to seize the golden fleece, which is draped over the rock, and is shown in frontview. It is protected by a snake, similar to the one depicted on the krater in Bologna. To Jason's right is Athena holding her spear, his protective goddess. To the far right is *Argo*, Jason's celebrated boat with a woman's head as a finial at the stern. The wood used to build the ship came from Zeus's oracular oak at Dodona, thus *Argo* had the power of speech, which may explain the presence of the woman's head, perhaps as a symbol of its magical abilities. King (1983: 386-7) interpreted the third figure, a cloaked man standing near Athena, as Zeus. Although she says that the Bologna krater is a parody of the New York krater, she does not entirely dismiss the possibility of the theatrical interpretation of the scene.³³³ It is my contention that there is no convincing evidence to indicate a representation of a lost satyr play, but rather it is simply an iconographical parody. The painter has turned upside-down the iconography of one of his own kraters. He replaces Jason with a satyr; Athena and her spear with Dionysos holding his thyrsos (who seems to be fleeing instead of helping his servant); the ram fleece's frontview is replaced by a view of the ram's backside; the dragon-snake resembles a dildo with a painted eye; and last but not least, both the satyr and Jason's penises' foreskin is tethered. An athletic 'proper' Jason, while unexpected, can be understood to a certain extent; but for the satyr, who is invariably ithyphallic, it is a joke. Two similar parodies, although in scenes from daily life, were also attributed, independently, to the Orchard Painter by Beazley: a column-krater in Ferrara³³⁴ and a column-krater in Bologna.³³⁵ On the first, a man is treading grapes in a pithos, while another man treads grapes through a basket on a pressing table. On the second, a satyr, a rhyton in hand, is treading grapes in the main basin.

Aineas and Ephedrismos Games such as the *kottabos* or *ephedrismos* have not so far been taken into consideration. While they may be amusing games, they are not as a general rule comical depictions. However, there is an unusual representation of the game of *ephedrismos* (from *ephedrizō*, 'to be carried on someone's back') on a neck-amphora in Boston (fig. 115).³³⁶ According to Pollux (*Onomast.* 9.119), the game consisted in trying to knock down an erect stone by throwing balls or stones from a distance. Players who missed the target had to carry the winners on their backs whilst blindfolded all the way to another stone called a *dioros* (the winners covered the losers' eyes with their hands). This game is represented in both black- and red-figure. On a black-figure skyphos in Brussels,³³⁷ two groups of players are carrying the winners on their backs. On a

³³³ On this 'theatrical' line of enquiry, see Richter and Milne 1933: 184; Brommer 1959: cat. 104; and Bieber 1963: 13-14.

³³⁴ Ferrara, T254.

³³⁵ Bologna, 241.

³³⁶ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 76.46; (BA 207623), ARV² 654.13, 1372, 1664. Add 135, Add² 276; ARFHL, fig. 367; LIMC VIII, pl. 747, s.v. 'Silenoi' 17; Beazley and Caskey 1954: II, pls. 45, 85. From Italy, Capua; Charmides Painter; 460-440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

³³⁷ Skyphos, Attic BF, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, R327; (BA 330683), ABV 518; Tarin 1991: 118, fig. 110; CVA, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 3, III. He. 17, pls. 25.1a-b, 26.4. Theseus Painter; 510-500 BC.

neck-amphora in Copenhagen,³³⁸ two ithyphallic satyrs are playing *ephedrismos*. One of them is carrying the other on his back, his eyes covered by the carried satyr. He is walking towards the *dioros*. It is incongruous yet nonetheless comical to find satyrs playing a human game. A calyx-krater in London³³⁹ shows a satyr family playing ball and watching two groups of satyrs 'piggy-backing'. The latter are not playing *ephedrismos* but gesturing for the ball.

On the neck-amphora in Boston (fig. 115), two satyrs seem to be in the middle of a game of *ephedrismos*.³⁴⁰ A third, with a sprig in hand, is running after them, holding onto the tail of the carried satyr. On the other side of the vase, a satyr leans on a staff. The difference between this depiction and other representations of satyrs and humans playing *ephedrismos* is that the satyr being carried is an elderly white-haired papposilenos. No 'usual' depiction of *ephedrismos* would ever show an old man or a papposilenos playing the game. There is, however, a different yet very common mythological scene in which an old man is carried on a warrior's back: Aineas fleeing Troy in flames with his son Ascanius running beside him and his father Anchises on his back. This scene is usually depicted in black-figure but is also present in red-figure. Anchises' hair is usually white, to indicate his advanced years, and hence his inability to run beside his son. On a neck-amphora in Munich,³⁴¹ women are fleeing beside the main protagonists: Aineas is running while carrying his father. Ascanius is running behind them, holding onto his father's leg. On a neck-amphora in Würzburg,³⁴² a fleeing Aineas is carrying Anchises and bends down to take his son by the arm. He is leaving a building to his left, perhaps representing Troy. Most of the scenes in black-figure show Anchises mounted piggy-back fashion on Aineas. In red-figure, as on a red-figure hydria in Naples (fig. 41),³⁴³ Anchises' position has changed: he is back-to-back with Aineas, who holds him from the chest. Ascanius walks beside his father. Finally, an amphora from Sotheby's in London³⁴⁴ shows, on one side, Aineas fleeing with Anchises on his back and Ascanius running in front. On the other side of the same vase, two satyrs carry maenads piggy-back on each side of Dionysos! Both scenes are not unusual, but put side-to-side, they are painted on the same vase after all, the satyric displacement and attempt to reproduce a heroic feat is humorous.

³³⁸ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Copenhagen, National Museum, 99; (BA 202595), ARV² 287.24; *AntK* 37 (1994) 1, pl. 11.4. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Geras Painter; 530-490 BC.

³³⁹ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E467; (BA 206955), ARV² 601.23, *Add* 130, *Add* 266, *Para* 395; Brommer 1959: 41, figs. 36-7; LIMC V, pl. 494, s.v. 'Iris' 199; LIMC VIII, pl. 633, s.v. 'Pan' 262. From Italy, Altamura; Niobid Painter; 460-440 BC.

³⁴⁰ Boston 76.46. See amphora fr., Attic BF, Samos, K898; (BA 310445), ABV 151.18, *Para* 63, *Add* 42; LIMC VIII, pl. 538, s.v. 'Mainades' 60. From Samos; Amasis Painter; 540-525 BC.

³⁴¹ Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, J1187; (BA 302926), ABV 392.10, *Add* 103, *Para* 172; CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen Ehemals Museum Antiker Klein Kunst 9, pls. 6-5, 7.1, 8.1-2. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Nikoxenos Painter; 525-490 BC.

³⁴² Neck-amphora, Attic BF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum antikenabteilung, 218; (BA 301643), ABV 316.2, *Add* 85; Carpenter 1991: fig. 336. Class of Cambridge 49; 520-500 BC.

³⁴³ Naples, H2422.

³⁴⁴ Amphora (B), Attic BF, London market, Sotheby's (BA 7492); Sotheby, *Sale catalogue*, 5.7.1982, 148, no. 385; Sotheby, *Sale catalogue*, 7.7.1994, 13, no. 334. Leagros Group; 520-500 BC.



Figure 115. Satyrs parody Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius fleeing Troy in flames: Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 76.46; Charmides Painter; 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Menelaus Pursuing Helen We have seen earlier parodies (fig. 64)¹⁴⁵ of the ‘dropping the sword’ motif based on numerous scenes (fig. 43)¹⁴⁶ where Menelaus drops his vengeful sword as he falls once again in love with his beautiful wife Helen. Satyrs would not drop a sword, but they could certainly drop their favourite weapon, a rhyton (a wine drinking horn)! On a calyx-krater in Lisbon (fig. 116),¹⁴⁷ as on a pelike in Basel,¹⁴⁸ a satyr with a leopard skin hanging from his arm is pursuing a maenad. He has dropped his rhyton. This object is often an iconographical pointer to wine,¹⁴⁹ but in the case of the satyr, it is his attribute. Like Menelaus, who drops his vengeful sword as he approaches his beautiful wife Helen, the satyr drops his wine horn as he is about to grope a maenad.

¹⁴⁵ Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

¹⁴⁶ Vatican, 16133.

¹⁴⁷ Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Lisbon, Foundation Gulbenkian, 682; (BA 215535), ARV² 1042.1; Braccisi, L. et al. (1988) *Vasi Greci – Le Necropoli di Agrigento*, Mostra Internazionale, Agrigento, 2, maggio–11. luglio 1988. Rome: 228, fig. 76. From Sicily, Agrigento; Group of Polygnonos; 440–430 BC. © Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon. Photo: Catarina Gomes Ferreira.

¹⁴⁸ Pelike, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS430; (BA 214768), ARV² 1116.42, Add² 133; CVA, Switzerland 6, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 2, pl. 34.1–2. Hephaistos Painter; 440–430 BC. See also calyx-krater, Attic RF, Basel market, Münzen und Medaillen A. G. (BA 10357); Christie Painter; 440–430 BC.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, the drunk Scythian cup, Basel, BS1423, discussed in Chapter 2, Section 4, ‘Treatment of Foreigners and Political Satire’, ‘A Drunk Scythian’.



Figure 116. Satyr pursuing a maenad and dropping his wine horn as Menelaus pursuing Helen drops his sword. Calyx-krater, Attic RF, Lisbon, Foundation Gulbenkian, 682; Group of Polygnotos; 440–430 BC. © Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon. Photo: Catarina Gomes Ferreira.

Hang on, Odysseus! In a scene both famous in the *Odyssey* and in Greek iconography, Odysseus manages to escape from Polyphemos the Cyclops's cave by first blinding him and then securely binding himself and his sailors to the bellies of the Cyclops's sheep. Although the Cyclops stands, blind, at the entrance of his cave and checks each sheep that passes the threshold, he does not realise he has been tricked by Odysseus. The episode was probably the most famous in the *Odyssey* as it is the beginning of Odysseus's misfortunes. He is so proud of his own cunning (*metis*) that as he jumps aboard his ship, he turns around and cries out to the blinded Cyclops: 'Cyclops, if any mortal man should ask you about the shameful blinding of your eye, tell him that Odysseus, the sacker of cities, son of Laertes, whose home is in Ithaca, blinded it' (Hom. Od. 9.502–5). The Cyclops happened to be a son of Poseidon, lord of the seas. In a world where most long-distance travel was by sea, one would do well to avoid provoking Poseidon. Polyphemos the Cyclops invokes his father's help and begs him to avenge him. As a result, Odysseus will take another ten years to reach his homeland. We have already seen how the story is parodied in a rare surviving, albeit fragmentary, satyr play, Euripides' *Cyclops*. A calyx-krater in London (fig. 117)¹⁰⁰ shows Odysseus and his companions cutting down a tree while Polyphemos is asleep in a drunken stupor. A few satyrs are rushing around with wineskins. Have they stolen the Cyclops's wineskin? They are shown here as pestering nuisances.

The iconography of the *Return of Hephaistos* (fig. 112)¹⁰¹ has also been discussed from various angles, whether it was the comic narrative in itself, the wine jugs hanging

¹⁰⁰ Calyx-krater, Lucanian RF, London, British Museum, 1947.7–14.8; Brommer 1959: no. 98, fig. 11. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹⁰¹ Florence, 4209; London, B264; Munich, 1522. And column-krater, Attic RF, London market (Christies); (BA 202245), ARV² 237.11, *Para* 348. Chairippos Painter; 490–470 BC. And Vienna, 985.



Figure 117. *Odysseus making preparations for the blinding of Cyclops*. Calyx-krater, Lucanian RF, London, British Museum, 1947.7-14.8. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

off from the phallus of Hephaistos's donkey, or satyrs trying to rape his donkey. A skyphos in Paris (fig. 118)¹¹⁸ shows yet another aspect of the *Return of Hephaistos*. This variation shows a satyr hanging onto Hephaistos's donkey's erect penis while roped to the underside of the donkey. There is only one iconography similar to this one and that is the numerous representations of Odysseus and his sailors bound on the underside of the sheep (fig. 119)¹¹⁹ to escape the blood-thirsty Cyclops. Odysseus's story is pleasing

¹¹⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 143; (BA 302647) ABV 206.1; Ridder 1902: 235-7; CVA, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2, pl. 69.1-7. Group of Walter 48.42; 530-520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹¹⁹ Oinochoe, Attic RF, London, British Museum, B402; (BA 304615), ABV 533.13, 528.38; Add² 133; LIMC VIII, pl. 671, s.v. 'Polyphemus' I 44. From Rhodes, Camiros; Athena Painter; 520-500 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell. And see pelike, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1961.384; (BA 275331), ARV² 1638, Para 148, Add² 200; LIMC VI, pl. 628, s.v. 'Odysseus' 108. Near Painter of Goettingen; 510-490 BC. And column-krater, Attic RF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B32; (BA 305304), ABV 507.7.



Figure 118. *Satyr hanging off a horse's erect penis*. Skyphos, Attic BF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 343; Group of Walter 48.42; 530–520 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

because of the hero's craftiness. Here, the humour is the satyric parodic displacement as well as the sexual and drinking games context.

The Sphinx and the Theban Papposilenoi Most depictions of the *Sphinx and the Thebans*, from the last quarter of the sixth century to the middle of the fifth, show the sphinx set on a stele, as on a hydria in Basel,¹³⁴ on a column, as on a pelike in Paris,¹³⁵ or on a rock, surrounded by Theban onlookers. On the hydria in Basel, several men

Add¹ 126; LIMC VI, pl. 628, s.v. 'Odysseus' 105; CVA, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, pl. 9.1–3. Sappho Painter; 520–500 BC.

¹³⁴ Hydria, Attic RF, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS411; (BA 7191), CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 1, pl. 48.1–3. Eucharides Painter; 500–470 BC.

¹³⁵ Pelike, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G228; (BA 202517), ARV² 250.14, 254, Add¹ 203; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 6, III.1c.34–5, pls. 44.1, 45.2–3.8; Pottier 1897, vol. 3, pl. 131; G228. Syleus Painter; 500–480 BC.



Figure 119. *Odysseus bound to a sheep, escaping from Cyclops's cave*. Oinochoe, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B502; Athena Painter; 520-500 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

are seated while others are standing, staffs in hand. On the pelike in Paris, two men are leaning on their staffs, while two others are seated, one on a *klismos*. On a hydria in Würzburg,¹¹⁶ papposilenoi, sitting on *klismoi*, have been substituted for the expected Thebans. They all face the sphinx, resting on a rock amongst branches.¹¹⁷ Each elderly satyr firmly holds a sceptre, wears a diadem and an elaborate cloak. The impression is that these attributes are the 'insignia of high dignitaries' (Simon 1982: 141), as if the real dignitaries had left the place, or the satyrs have stolen their belongings and are playing at being the Thebans. In the light of the usual iconography of this scene, we have here a

¹¹⁶ Würzburg, ZA20.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, cup, Münster, Wilhelms-Universität, Archäologisches Museum, 584; (BA 14573); (Moret 1984: pl. 17.1); Stähler, K. (1980) *Herren und Götter der Griechen*. Münster: no. 18. Poseidon Painter; 515-490 BC.

parody using satyrs in place of humans. Simon interpreted this scene as a representation of Aeschylus's *Sphinx* although there is no evidence of any chorus of papposilenoi in this play. Moret, however, considers this depiction to be a parody; he compares this scene, on the one hand, to the traditional iconography of the *Sphinx and the Thebans* and, on the other hand, lists a number of the scenes already discussed in the present chapter, in which satyrs are found in place of heroes. He writes (1984: 141) that while the satyrs play their parts perfectly as Thebans, one can rest assured that they will not be able to keep up their pretence for long. Their affected dignity adds piquancy to the scene.

Oedipus Moret also discusses the depiction on a squat lekythos in Malibu,¹¹⁸ which he does not connect to the theatre and considers to be a parody too. A satyr faces the sphinx and from his posture, crouching forward and waving his finger at her, he seems to be mocking the sphinx. This scene should be compared to the more usual scene, as a cup in Rome,¹¹⁹ which shows in its tondo Oedipus seated on a block and the Theban sphinx on a column. The satyr on the lekythos in Malibu could be pretending to be Oedipus. The sphinx is drawn well above the ground as in traditional iconography, where she is usually seated atop a column, although there are a few vases on which the sphinx seems to float in the air.¹²⁰ She may have asked the satyr to answer her riddle, or he may be jeering at her for other reasons. Although Keuls does not completely discard the theatrical interpretation, she rightly compares the lekythos in Malibu with a depiction of the sphinx overpowering a young man who answered her question incorrectly.¹²¹ The sphinx is more likely to rape the beautiful youth than massacre him. As far as the satyr on the lekythos in Malibu is concerned, she writes: 'the expression on his face and the gesture of his right hand seem to convey: *What? Me and you? You must be joking*' (Keuls 1988: 302). Moret adds yet another parody to his corpus on an oinochoe fragment,¹²² which seems to show an Oedipus-dog sitting on its hind legs in front of the monster, seated on a rock. The fact that the satyr is not ithyphallic on the Malibu vase could plead in favour of the sexual interpretation. When a satyr is shown negotiating for sexual services with a draped woman, as on a pelike in London,¹²³ he is clearly shown ithyphallic. If the satyr had any sexually aggressive intentions towards the sphinx, the painter would have depicted him as such, as the satyr trying to rape a decorative sphinx on a cup in Berlin

¹¹⁸ Squat lekythos, Attic RF, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 580.AE.34; (BA 10062); Moret 1984: 139-41; pl. 91.2, no. 189; CVA, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 7, pls. 371.1-2, 376.3, 379.7-9. Polion Painter; Etruria Painter; 440-430 BC.

¹¹⁹ Vatican City, H569.

¹²⁰ Kambaros, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E136; (BA 216268); ARV² 1281, *Add* 338; CVA, London, British Museum 4, III.6, pl. 34.1-2; Moret 1984: pl. 48.2. Marlay Painter; 440-430 BC.

¹²¹ Squat lekythos, Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1607; (BA 215544); ARV² 1172.18; Keuls 1988: 302, fig. 1; LIMC VIII, pl. 805, s.v. 'Sphinx' 181. From Greece, Athens; Polion Painter; 440-430 BC.

¹²² Oinochoe fr., Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 3186; (BA 123511); Moret 1984: 146-7, pl. 96.2, no. 196; A.A. (1891), no. 17; Robert, C., *Oedipus* (Berlin 1935) fig. 12. 430-410 BC.

¹²³ Pelike, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E382; (BA 207332); ARV² 612, *Add* 133, *Add* 272; Keuls, E. (1984) 'Male-Female Interaction in Fifth-Century Dionysiac Ritual as Shown in Attic Vase-painting', *ZPE* 51: 293, pl. 19, fig. 12. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Chicago Painter; 450-430 BC.

(fig. 79).³⁶⁴ On a pelike fragment in Malibu,³⁶⁵ an old man is threatening a cat with his sandal. The cat is sitting on a stand. A household pet sitting on a stand is a rare picture indeed, but an animal crouching atop a column and surrounded by draped old men is a much more common picture in mythological scenes. This scene could well be a parody of the numerous depictions of the sphinx sitting on a column surrounded by the old Thebans.

Hermes We discussed elsewhere some representations of the *Judgement of Paris* and how Hermes running after Paris (fig. 39)³⁶⁶ is not only an amusing scene in itself but can be mocked further.³⁶⁷ There is, however, another iconographical tradition, which shows Paris, the princely shepherd, seated on a rock and playing the lyre, while the three goddesses (and often Hermes) approach him. Some goats or sheep are usually seen grazing around the mythological characters. These scenes exist in both the black-³⁶⁸ and the red-figure techniques.³⁶⁹ On a cup in Rome,³⁷⁰ a satyr, seated on a rock, plays the panpipes. Three goats dance to his tune. The parallel with the Paris representations makes this an interesting parody of a common visual theme. A pelike in Oxford³⁷¹ shows, on one side, a bearded customer leaning on his cane in front of a shoemaker, and, on the other side, Hermes leaning, in the same fashion, in front of a satyr playing the lyre on a rock. The latter scene is clearly a parody of the *Judgement of Paris*. The satyr, obsessed with sex, is a good *ersatz* for Paris, who, casting aside the other offers of power, knowledge, and peace, judges in favour of Aphrodite because she promises him the most desirable woman in the known world, Helen. The best satyric parody of the scene is on a lekythos in Tübingen (fig. 120):³⁷² this time Hermes has become a satyr! A satyr is pulling a youth towards three seated female characters. The first holds a lion, the second a hare, and the third a doe. The entrance to a grotto is visible on the far left. It would seem that the satyr and the youth have left the grotto to meet the female figures. If the satyr is playing the role of Hermes, one can easily imagine the young Paris was hiding in the grotto through abject fear, and that the satyr had to fetch him. This is why the satyr-Hermes is pulling the recalcitrant Paris roughly by the wrist and not by the hand! The female

³⁶⁴ Berlin, 1964.4.

³⁶⁵ Malibu, 86.AE.476.

³⁶⁶ Copenhagen, 13440; Lille, 763; Paris, Louvre, CA616. See Chapter 2, 'Judgement of Paris'.

³⁶⁷ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2510.

³⁶⁸ Lekanis, Attic BF, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 1497; (BA 310233); ABV 114.2; CVA, Italia 50, Palermo 1, pl. 7: 3-4. Lydos; 560-540 BC.

³⁶⁹ Cup, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2291; (BA 204685), ARV² 459.4, 481, 1385, 1654, Add 120, Add² 244, Para 377; CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 2, pls. 84.1-2, 85.1-4, 86.1-4. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Makron; 490-470 BC. And see hydria, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E178; (BA 205649), ARV² 503.20, Add² 251; ARFH II, fig. 34; CVA, London British Museum 5, III.LC.14, pl. 81.3. Painter of the Yale Omphos; 490-470 BC.

³⁷⁰ Rome, Villa Giulia, 64224.

³⁷¹ Pelike, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 563; (BA 204288), ABV 396.21; CVA, Great Britain 9, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 2; pl. 8.7-8. Painter of the Yale Cup; 490-470 BC.

³⁷² Lekythos, Attic BF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, St01294; (BA 6150), ABL 117.229; LIMC VII, pl. 127, s.v. 'Paridis Iudicium' 108; CVA, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 3, pl. 47.1-4; scanned drawing, after Watzinger 1924: pl. 15. Manner of Sappho Painter; 520-500 BC.



Figure 120. *Satyr-Parody of Hermes bringing Paris before the three goddesses to carry out his judgement*. Lekythos, Attic BF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, St01294; Manner of Sappho Painter; 520–500 BC. Scanned drawing, after Watzinger 1924: pl. 15.

figures are obviously the three goddesses, but they are also maenads, as maenads are often holding wild animals, such as snakes, deer, and panthers. If we take the first, which is holding a powerful lion, to be Hera, and the third, with a peaceful doe, to be Athena, Aphrodite can only be the figure clutching a hare, the usual love-gift found in most homoerotic scenes on Greek vases! The scene is a humorous one with a satyr behaving more courageously than a hero. The satyr clearly replaces Hermes, even though in this particular case the painter did not feel it necessary to show him wearing any of Hermes' attributes.

On a psykter in London,³⁷³ satyrs are engaged in a *kōmos*, fooling about with cups, kantharoi, and oinochoai; a satyr is even balancing a kantharos on the tip of his erect penis. One of them is wearing a Thracian cloak called *zeira* and fawn-skin boots with overlapping tops called *embades*. He holds Hermes' *kerykeion*. On account of this satyr, the vase was considered (Bieber 1961: 15) to be a representation of a satyr play, and this figure would have been the *exarchos* of the chorus. However, this satyr is not an actor and is not wearing satyr trunks, but he is wearing Hermes' attributes. *Komasts* are sometimes shown acting in a disorderly fashion, playing with vessels, but never to the extremes of satyr behaviour. As has been seen earlier, satyrs often steal from heroes and gods. Why, then, should Hermes be an exception to the rule? A satyr may have robbed Hermes and decided, as on this vase, to wear his mantle, boots, *petasos*, and wield his *kerykeion*. Being a minor god among the greater gods of the Pantheon, Hermes is easy to make fun of. Finally, a wine jug in Sarasota³⁷⁴ shows a parodical displacement of an

³⁷³ London, E768.

³⁷⁴ Oinochoe, Attic BF, Sarasota, John and Mabel Ringling Museum, 1600.G5; (BA 330806), ABV 327.17, Para 264, Add¹ 131; Lissarrague 1988b: 338; LIMC 5, s.v. 'Hermes' 890. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC.

already displaced scene. On a number of vases, Hermes is shown¹⁷² drinking from a kantharos whilst reclining his entire body on a passing ram as if he was at a symposium reclining on a *klinē*. The animal has become a piece of furniture. He is surrounded by satyrs, the left one playing the *aulos*, and the right one carrying a wineskin. The Sarasota scene shows a satyr reclining on a ram lead by another satyr playing the *aulos*. There is something unusual about the former satyr. He is wearing a *petasos*, Hermes' large brimmed hat, and winged sandals, Hermes' *endromides*. As was the case earlier with the London psykter,¹⁷³ the satyr probably stole Hermes' clothes and decided to wear them.

In conclusion, it is obvious from all these pictures that there is no need to conjure up theatrical explanations to interpret the presence of satyrs in certain scenes. Rather, we have here parodies of vase-painters stock themes. One might say that the parodies focus more on the representations of myth than on the myths themselves. I do not, however, wish to leave the reader with the impression that I am looking to dissociate these two media completely. Both plays and vases were produced at Athens at the same time. One went to see plays and one bought vases. Both media shared the same culture but *not* the same codes of expression. In the words of Padgett: 'If an actor could escape reality by donning a mask, a vase-painter could do the same by picking up his brush' (2000: 45). Satyrs were comical figures used to parody known myths both in plays as well as in vase-paintings.

¹⁷² Stamnos, Attic RE, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G183; (BA 201961), ARV² 207.142; LIMC III, pl. 350, s.v. 'Dionysos' 438; LIMCV, pl. 222, s.v. 'Hermes' 257; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 2, III, k. 11, pl. 20.4.5. Berlin Painter; 300-480 BC.

¹⁷³ London, E768.

Caricatures in Athens and at the Kabirion Sanctuary in Boeotia

Autres temps autres mœurs. We have seen in Chapter 2 that the mocking of reprehensible social behaviour is a form of moral criticism, and it can be considered as a caricature of the soul; the exaggeration of gluttony is a leitmotif in caricature. In a similar way, in archaic and classical Greece, old age, pygmies, and dwarfs aroused laughter. Anything contrary to the norm was ridiculed. This chapter focuses first on caricature in Athens and then at the Kabirion sanctuary in Boeotia.

1. INSUFFICIENTLY MANLY: DWARFS, CARICATURE, AND MUCH MORE

Dwarfs, an Introduction

Dasen's book (1993) on dwarfs in ancient Egypt and Greece focuses on both the medical and the archaeological aspects of the condition. Most authors who examine dwarfs, or who concentrate on disability, deformity, or diseases in antiquity, are mainly interested in *icono-diagnosis*, that is, how much art can tell us about diseases and disabilities in the ancient world.¹ My starting point is different: I am interested in representations of dwarfs in Greek vase-painting in comparison to 'normal' citizens, and how they were mainly used in caricature. In Greek art, dwarfs are persons of abnormally short stature and disproportioned bodies. Aristotle, who was somewhat interested in dwarfs (*Somn.* 3.457a 23-5; *Hist. an.* 6.24.577b 27-8; *Part. an.* 4.10.686b; 3.687b 25; 12.695a 8; *Gen. an.* 11.710b 13), categorizes them as 'monsters' because of the excessive development of the upper part of their body compared to their lower part. With their short legs, they resemble children, but they remain disproportioned throughout their lives (Louis 1975: 281).

There were many different medical conditions of dwarfism. In black-figure vase-painting, most short figures were probably not dwarfs because they have proportioned

¹ See Pontius 1983, and Grmek and Gourevitch 1998: 27-8.

bodies. In red-figure, dwarfs are characterised by large heads, long trunks, and short limbs. This physical condition is known as achondroplasia. A typical case of achondroplasia is clearly shown on an Attic aryballos in Paris (fig. 121):¹

he has a long broad trunk, thick thighs, and short legs. His bulging forehead, enhanced by incipient baldness, is associated with a strong lower jaw revealed by sparse side-whiskers spread along his cheeks; the depression at the root of the nose is indicated by a large hook drawn at its wing. His hairy chest is muscular, as shown by the fullness of the inferior line of the chest muscle (pectoralis major) drawn in brown lines on his abdomen. Typical folds of skin appear on the thighs below the buttocks, and are emphasized by the shortness of the lower leg.

(Dasen 1993: 171)

The distinction between dwarfs and pygmies in ancient art is clear: pygmies are tiny but proportioned men. Their traditional fight against cranes as a parody of the great mythological fights has been discussed previously.²

Bergson's comical deformity principle is that a deformity that may become comic is a deformity that a normally built person could successfully imitate (1921: 23). This is easily applicable to the imitation of the old and could also be valid for dwarfs. The Greek ideal of beauty was based on *symmetria*, 'due proportion' (Democr. 191; Pl. *Phlb.* 64e sq.), *eurythmia*, 'well proportioned' (Pl. *Resp.* 400f; Plut. *Mor.* 8c), and dwarfs were poor imitations of men. Aristotle insists in various passages on dwarfs' inferiority not only physical (*Somm.* 467a), 'dwarfs are more easily affected by fatigue, which is not equally distributed in their limbs' ([*Pr.*] 5.22.883a), but also mental: 'That is also why all these animals [including dwarfs] are less intelligent than humans' (*Part. an.* 4.10.686a-b; *Mem.* 453b). He says that they are less intelligent than normal-sized men because the weight of their heavy upper part disturbs reasoning. According to Plato (*Tht.* 160c-1a; *Resp.* 5.9.459d-61e), Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.14.2, 10), and other sources such as the Law Code of Gortyn (Willettts 1967: 29, 41-2, col. 3, l. 44-52), children could be exposed if disabled at birth or illegitimate. However, as Dasen writes: 'on the whole, growth disturbances cannot easily be detected at birth, but become progressively evident during infancy after the time allowed for exposure' (1993: 210). To say that they led a normal life as Athenian citizens is unlikely. Would they have passed the physical training of the *ephebia*, and who would listen to them at the Assembly? It was hard enough to raise one's voice there when not connected to the 'important' citizens. It is difficult to appreciate what their exact status was, but undoubtedly, in practice, they were not citizens in full. The situation is quite different for disabled citizens injured in war or in an accident. The iconography of dwarfs in vase-painting comes as a counterpoint to their literary image. They are not shown in appropriate situations and sometimes are evidently out-of-place. They are either depicted dancing at symposia or accompanying their master. Other situations that we will discuss in the mythological section show that dwarfs could be used to caricature or parody conventional iconography.

¹ Paris, Louvre, CA 1183.

² See Chapter 3, 'Pygmies and Cranes'.



Figure 121. Dwarf at the doctor's intending to pay with a love-gift (hare) instead of money. Aryballos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA2183; Clinic Painter; 470–460 BC. (C) RMN/© Hervé Lewandowski.

Dwarfs Dancing at Symposia

Of all the depictions of dwarfs, those dancing at symposia are the most frequent (Xen. *Symp.* 2.1, 8, 11, 14), as Athenians liked juggling, singing, or dancing dwarfs. They were unusual acrobats to say the least.⁴ A stamnos fragment in Erlangen⁵ shows a dwarf dancing between an *aulētēs* and a castanet-player. From the position of the hands of the

⁴ See Maas 1912; Lawler 1964; Dasen 1993: 230; and Schäfer 1997: 17, 29, 35–7, 52–5, 59–60, 84–6, 92–3.

⁵ Stamnos fr., Attic RF, Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 7071 (BA 233504), ARV² 1039.6; Dasen 1993: cat. 9, pl. 47.1. Peleus Painter; 460–440 BC.

castanet-player, the dwarf must be dancing on a table, which would indicate that he is at a symposium. A skyphos in Paris⁸ shows two moments of the same dance: on one side, the small man jumps and extends his arms, then crouches on the other side, keeping his arms in the same position' (Dasen 1993: 231). The style of the drawing is very schematic and reminds the viewer of children on *Anthesteria* miniature choes. Hamilton (1992) argued convincingly that only the miniature choes were produced for the *Anthesteria*. Among a number of arguments, he shows that they were mostly found in Athens, in comparison to the larger choes, which were found in a variety of contexts in different countries. On each side of a skyphos in New Haven,⁹ a dwarf wearing a symposiast's headband dances with both arms extended in the same direction. A skyphos on the ground indicates the sympotic context. The dwarf is dancing like revellers on a cup in Vienna.¹⁰ The dwarf in New Haven is not performing acrobatics like the one on the skyphos in Paris. He is a professional comic, performing a mock-imitation of traditional dances usually performed not by professional dancers but by the revellers themselves. His function is not that of a dancer but that of a comic entertainer.¹¹

Dwarfs Accompanying their Master

Dwarfs also follow youths or walk dogs. On a pelike in Boston,¹² a dwarf, half naked, holding a dog by the collar and a staff in his other hand, follows a draped youth. On a cup fragment in Ferrara,¹³ a dwarf, with a huge disproportioned head and genitals, carries a bag on his shoulder, following a youth, probably his master. Dasen considers dwarfs who follow youths to be 'personal attendants' (1993: 226). On a column-krater from the London market,¹⁴ three drunken *komasts* walk to the right. While the first carrying a kylix and the last a torch do not seem to have lost their senses, the reveller in the centre, carrying a *kithara* is staggering. He is helped by a dwarf who also holds his staff. Athenaeus, discussing Sybarite customs, starts his argument by praising them: 'The Sybarites, first of all people' (12.518c). He obviously held them in high esteem. He goes on to say: 'the Sybarites took delight in Melite puppies and human beings who were less than human' (12.519b). He says elsewhere: 'Another national custom arising from their luxurious habits was to keep tiny manikins and jesters' (12.518f). Sybaris was a Greek

⁸ Skyphos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G617; (BA 209513), ARV² 768.53, Add² 141, Add³ 287; Pottier 1897: vol. 3, pl. 157, G617. From Italy, Capua; Sotades Painter; 470–460 BC. See also psykter, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G58; (BA 200107), ARV² 21.6; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III, Ic, pl. 58.3, 6.9. Smikros; 510–500 BC.

⁹ Skyphos, Attic RF, New Haven, Yale University, 160; (BA 21361); Dasen 1993: cat. 22, pl. 54a–b. From Greece; 440–420 BC.

¹⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 213; (BA 211990), ARV² 904.65; CVA, Austria 1, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, pl. 20.1–2. Veii Painter; 450–430 BC.

¹¹ See Tietze-Conrat 1957.

¹² Pelike, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 76.451; (BA 214151), ARV² 1011.13, Add² 334, Para 440; ARFH II, fig. 120. From Italy, Capua; Dwarf Painter; 440–430 BC.

¹³ Cup fr., Attic RF, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, 20363; (BA 212583), ARV² 934.67bis; Dasen 1993: pl. 46.1. From Italy, Spina; Curtius Painter; 460–450 BC.

¹⁴ Column-krater, Attic RF, London market; Sotheby's, Sale catalogue (14.12.1995) no. 140.

colony, and even if Athenaeus does not refer to Athenian customs, in vase-paintings rich Sybaris finds a parallel in Athenian customs. From what is seen in the vase-paintings, dwarfs were servants of a special kind, like pets. They were perhaps more fancy and amusing to possess than slaves,¹¹ who were probably more useful in many ways, notwithstanding the fact they probably could cope with heavier workloads than dwarfs.

On a cup fragment in Athens,¹² a dwarf stands still in an unusual context next to a seated woman holding a mirror. At first, she seems to be a 'respectable' Athenian lady in a beautiful setting, but the presence of a bed behind her and one of her breasts showing under her translucent garment – although this detail is fairly common in contemporary depictions of women – indicate that this woman is probably a *hetaira* (Robertson 1980: 129; Dasen 1993: 229). The dwarf does not here serve the function of an 'attendant'. He is not a man, not even half a man, but almost a decorative item, a friendly and safe companion, like a responsive Melitean dog, as in many paintings where a dog sits next to his master's seat.

In a Surgery

On an aryballos in Paris (fig. 121),¹³ a naked, balding, and bearded dwarf carries a hare on his left shoulder between two draped men in a surgery. The young (beardless) doctor is shown on the other side treating a patient. All patients stand in a queue. Among all these fine men, the hairy-chested dwarf turns around to face one of the other patients. The latter weighs heavily on his cane and keeps his other hand to his hip in a relaxed fashion. The incongruity of the dwarf's presence in the queue is surprising and amusing. The dwarf carries a dead hare on his shoulder: could it be his method of payment? The foreskin of the dwarf's penis is tied up. This is comical for the following reason: this was a common practice essentially among athletes at the palaestra. This tethering of the foreskin with a string called *kynodesme*, literally a 'dog leash', is often confused with infibulation. Infibulation 'had different objectives and was achieved by surgically piercing the prepuce and using the holes so created for the insertion of a metal clasp (*fibula*) in order to fasten the prepuce shut' (Hodges 2001: 378–9).

The only painting (fig. 122)¹⁴ that displays dwarfs training shows them with oversized genitals. Like satyrs, dwarfs are often shown macrophallic. It is well understood that satyrs with tethered foreskins are a visual joke. Dwarfs similarly tethered should be considered comical too. The hare indicates an erotic context, well-known in vase-painting of the *erastes* and *eromenos*. The *erastes* asks a favour (*charizesthai*) of the

¹¹ On slaves, see Himmelmann 1971.

¹² Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, Agora Museum, P2574; (BA 6111); Schäfer 1997: pl. 49.1. From Greece, Athens Agora; Kleophrades Painter; 505–475 BC.

¹³ Paris, Louvre, CA2183.

¹⁴ Pelike, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1621; (BA 215021), ARV² 1134.11, Add² 333; Vanhove 1992: fig. 73. Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

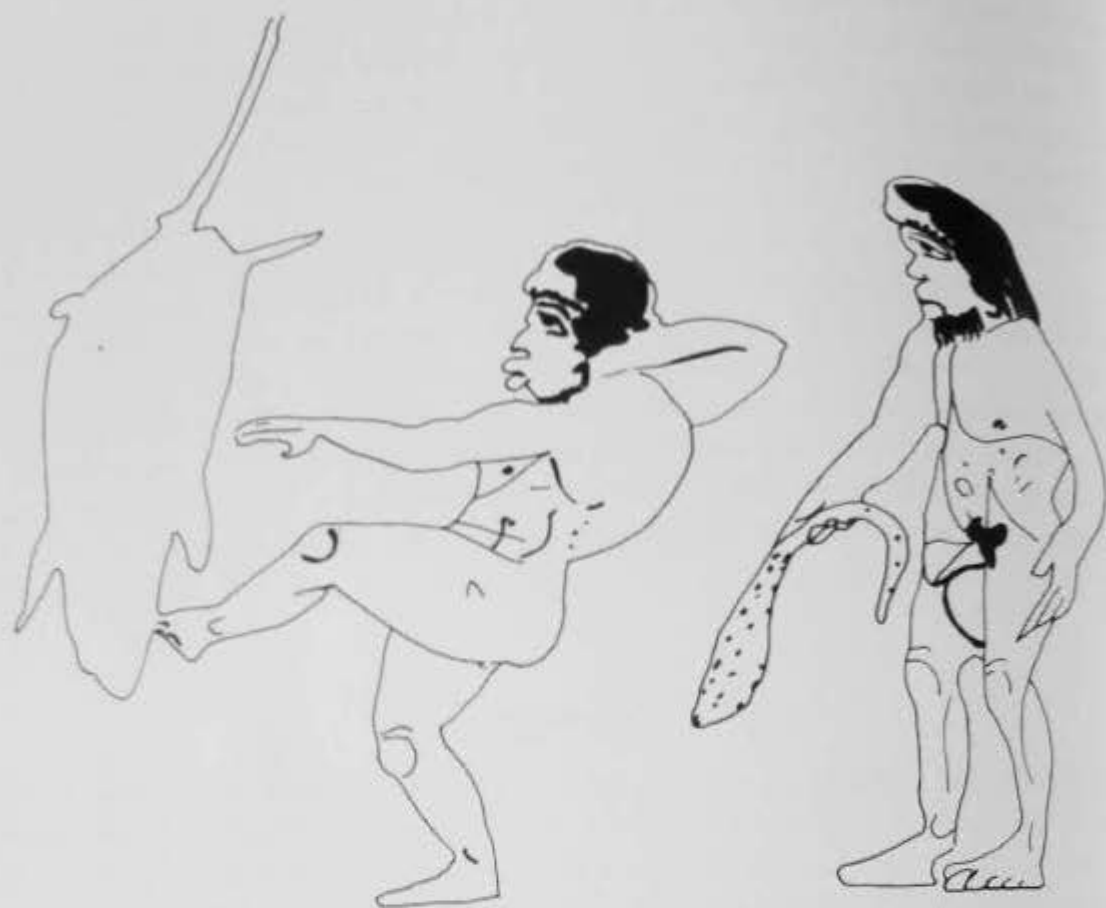


Figure 122. Two dwarves practising at the palestra. Pelike, Attic RF, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1621; Washing Painter; 440–420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

eromenos by offering him a hare, as on a neck-amphora in Rome¹⁷ or a cup in Paris¹⁸ also attributed to the clinic Painter, and one also finds parodies of the same scene with satyrs.¹⁹ The humorous effect is created by the presence of the hairy dwarf at the place of the expected handsome *eromenos*. 'The dwarf is in the same age-group as his *erastes*, while in courting scenes one of the lovers is older. The unusual location of this meeting enhances the comedy of the parody; the two men are shown not in a palaestra, a place suited to the appraisal of naked bodies, but in a clinic, among sick or injured people' (Dasen 1993: 222–3). The presence of a flying Eros, hovering exactly above the 'beautiful couple' on the shoulder of the aryballos, is another assurance of the erotic interpretation.²⁰ On a vase in Oxford,²¹ an ithyphallic dwarf is dancing in front of a

¹⁷ Rome, Villa Giulia, 50462.

¹⁸ Cup, Attic RF, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 812; (BA 210018), ARV² 808, 811–37; Ridder 1902: 471, fig. 110. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Clinic Painter; 470–460 BC.

¹⁹ St. Petersburg, 734. Paris, Baron E. de Rothschild; (BA 206010).

²⁰ On the iconography of *erotes*, see Greifenhagen 1957 and Shapiro 1992.

²¹ Oinochoe, Attic RF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1971.866; (BA 4692); Boardman 1992: 238. Phiale Painter; 440–430 BC.

young veiled woman. A small phallus-bird is flying from the dwarf to the woman. The dwarf is not a satyr, he is not sexually aroused as a prerequisite condition, that is, for no reason: the direction the bird is flying gives a direction for the recipient of his desire, the veiled woman.²²

From Dwarfs to Boxers

On a pelike in St. Petersburg (fig. 122),²³ two dwarfs exercise in the *korykeion*, the boxing grounds, hitting a large punch-bag (Philostr. *Gymn.* 57). This is a *hapax* in Athenian vase-painting but not in Boeotian vase-painting (fig. 131).²⁴ The bag has the appearance of a sow that one of the dwarfs hits with his hands and feet. With the mastery of a new drawing technique, Greek painters did exploit the burlesque possibilities offered by the unusual anatomy of dwarfs.²⁵

As we will see further with grotesque pygmies, dwarfs are used in a ludicrous fashion, and the St. Petersburg dwarfs have a dim-witted caricatured face, brought out by their thick lips and large droopy eyes. Dwarfs never trained at the palaestra; it is the dwelling of free and handsome youths. This could very well be a parody of a boxer, traditionally depicted as stout and strong athletes in vase-painting. Boxing athletes were easy to parody because of their stocky appearance. The next scene combines caricature and situation comedy. A cup in London (fig. 123),²⁶ signed by Pheidippos, displays a scene that one often comes across in publications on ancient athletics. Four athletes are training at the palaestra, two on each side of a chair covered with clothes. On the right stand an *akontist* and a *diskobolos*. On the left, a slender youth, slightly bent forwards, extends both arms. On the right, another youth, with a protruding belly, holds string in his left hand while making a gesture with his right to the first athlete. The string could be a *kynodesme* used for tethering the foreskin,²⁷ but it is more likely to be for thongs (*himantes*), as on a neck-amphora in Vienna.²⁸ Because of his corpulence, he must be a boxer. Boxers are depicted as strong men since black-figure, as on an amphora in London.²⁹ The boxer on the London cup (fig. 123) is a good deal chubbier than usual

²² See Boardman 1992: 230-1.

²³ St. Petersburg, B1621.

²⁴ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3179; KH 1.99K16, pl. 29.1-2, 30.11=KH 4.64.355-450-375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²⁵ For a different view, see Dasen 1993: 221-2.

²⁶ Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E6; (BA 200378), ARV² 166.11, 49.168, Para 337, Add 78, Add 161, 182; Swaddling 1999: 78. From Italy, Erruria, Vulci; Pheidippos (by signature); 525-515 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

²⁷ See, for example, calyx-krater, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2180 (BA 200063), ARV² 13.1, 1619, Add 73, Add 152, Para 321; after Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-32: III, fig. 117, pl. 157. From Italy, Capua; Euphronios; 520-505 BC.

²⁸ Neck-amphora, Attic RF, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3723; (BA 201795), ARV² 193, Add 189; Vanhove 1992: fig. 219; CVA, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2, pl. 53.1-4. Kleophrades Painter; 505-475 BC.

²⁹ Amphora, Attic BF, London, British Museum, B295; (BA 302838), ABV 226.1, Add 59, Para 106; Swaddling 1999: fig. 44. From Sicily, Agrigento; Nikosthenes Painter; 540-520 BC.

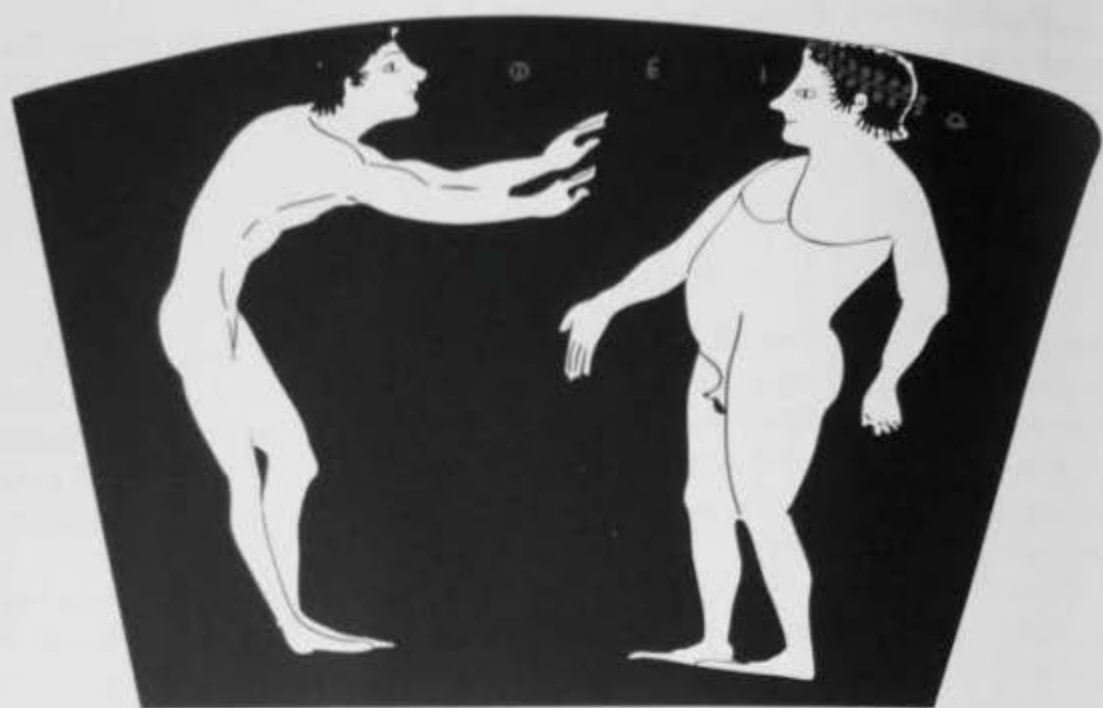


Figure 123. *Slim and fat athletes*. Cup, Attic RF, London, British Museum, E6; Pheidippos (by signature); 525–515 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

boxers. The athlete on the left has been considered to be a wrestler by Swaddling (1999: 44), but Kraiker has clearly shown, as on another cup attributed to Pheidippos in Heidelberg,¹⁰ that he is in the canonical attitude of a racer taking his mark. The usual attitude of the racer has taken a new meaning, that is, of entreaty or refusal to the gesture of invitation of the boxer. The racer could either be making a gesture of denial because he does not want the overweight man to join the group of slender athletes, or he refuses to fight with him because he is a racer and not a boxer. The comedy of the scene is based on the double-meaning of the extended arms, in the attitude of the racer, and in the canonical attitude of supplication or refusal. If the boxer had not been so overweight, drawn so close to the racer, and had not made a gesture of discussion, the scene would go by unnoticed. More situation comedy is to be found on a skyphos in Paris¹¹ where a boxer with blood gushing from his nose is running away from another boxer in close pursuit. There is an inscription that reads from left to right, following the iconographic action: 'he pursues, he boxes, he flees'. The inscription enhances the humour of the scene.

¹⁰ Cup, Attic RF, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 15; (BA 200348), ARV² 165.9, 46, 140, Add 78, Add 161; After Kraiker, W., 'Pheidippos', AM 55 (1930) 167–80, pl. 10. Pheidippos; 525–515 BC.

¹¹ Skyphos, Attic BF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MNC 332; Para 90.41; S. G. Miller 2004: fig. 93; CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 9, III.H.E.84, III.H.E.85, pl. 93.1–5. From Corinth; Hermogenes Potter; 560–530 BC.

Physiognomy, the 'Aesop Cup', and a Few Thinkers

Physiognomy is the close examination of an individual's facial features and morphology in the belief that they can reveal the disposition of the mind, the character (Garland 1995: 88–9). In the works of some vase-painters, such as Onesimos¹² or even Euphronios (fig. 52),¹³ it is tempting to speak of physiognomy because some figures are differentiated by hairy chests, longer hair, or bushy eyebrows. These paintings have undoubtedly what Beazley called 'a touch of naturalism' (Beazley and Caskey 1954: 25). But it is unnecessary and possibly anachronistic to talk of physiognomy. The earliest surviving work on physiognomy is the *Physiognomika*, an anonymous treatise found in the Aristotelian corpus, said to have been written in the third century BC because the treaty was undoubtedly not written by Aristotle (fourth century) nor could it be a second-century work. It still is about two centuries later than the production of red-figure vase-paintings. The study of the movements, shapes and colours, habits revealed in the face, the growth of hair, the smoothness of the skin, the voice, the condition of the flesh, parts of the body, and the general character of the body described in the *Physiognomika* (806a 23–33)¹⁴ is virtually useless to understand the iconographical codes of vase-painting.

There is sometimes a suggestion of characterisation, as on a cup in New York.¹⁵ A bearded man with a curved nose walks to the left accompanied by a dog with long hair. Whether described as an 'old Hebrew gentleman' (Boardman 1987a: 62), or as a 'pimp', it is generally accepted that this figure is characterised. He is not identifiable: he is probably a 'type'. In the same way that Greek portraits of the fifth century were closer to types than to 'real' portraits (Voutiras 1980: 19–40),¹⁶ the New York stroller has a touch of realism and could be a 'type', a 'Levantine', a 'pimp', and so on (Binsfeld 1956: 31–5). There is, however, an older form of physiognomy, discussed by Aristotle (*Gen. an.* 4.3.769b). He seems to indicate that there were earlier physiognomists but not of the kind we would have first imagined: 'Often, as a joke, people who are not among the beautiful are compared to a 'goat breathing fire', or again to a 'ram butting', and a certain physiognomist reduced all faces to those of two or three animals, and his arguments often prevailed on audiences'. Comparing humans to animals is a form of physiognomy; for instance, the lion's strength and courage are male virtues, while the grace of the panther was thought to be female. Aesop also used animals to write on human foibles. But Aristotle is referring to the jokes on likeness (*eikasia* or *eikasma*) made during symposia by professional entertainers, like Philipos the jester in Xenophon's *Banquet*, or by the symposiasts themselves.

¹² Basel, BS439.

¹³ Paris, Louvre, G103.

¹⁴ See Gombrich 1971, and Loveday and Forster 1984.

¹⁵ Cup, Attic RF, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.47; (BA 201603), ARV² 175, 1631, Add. 92, Para 339, Add² 184; Pfuhl 1923: pl. 97, 340, vgl. 341. Hegesiboulos Potter (by signature); 510–500 BC.

¹⁶ See also Voutiras 2000.

To sum up, as far as individualisation in vase-painting is concerned, precise identification was not sought by the artisans and physiognomy was reduced to the production of 'types', such as the hunter or the lyric poet for instance.

The 'Aesop Cup'

On a cup in the Vatican City (fig. 16),¹⁷ a man, wrapped in his himation, is seated on a rock, facing a fox (note its long and bushy tail) on another rock. The man's head is hypertrophied. This enabled the painter to add wrinkles on his forehead, a pointed beard, and exaggerate the long and fleshy nose. Both figures' mouths are open and the fox's paw-gestures indicate he is talking. 'The man's deformity and the dialogue with the animal led the archaeologist Jahn (1843: 434) to suggest that the figure represents Aesop, a conclusion that seems plausible even though hardly any portraits of poets exist in Attic pottery. This image falls within a dual tradition of human caricature and anthropomorphized animals' (Lissarrague 2000a: 137). Aesop's deformity was well-known in antiquity, as stated in later literature: he was considered to be: 'the ugliest man alive ... pot-bellied, with a pointed head, a snub nose ... a dark complexion, stunted, bandy-legged, stooped' (*Vita Aesopi*, F 22r). The cup in Rome does not depict such a figure. 'Rather than portraits in the realistic and mimetic sense of the term – a notion that would have no meaning in the case of a fifth-century Greek personage, since at that time the portrait as we know it did not exist – these images must be considered as imaginary and symbolic portraits, in some sense, truer than nature' (Lissarrague 2000a: 137).

It is the atmosphere of the fable that is interesting: the fact that the animal is endowed with speech. 'There is no iconographic type for Aesop; each of these portraits resembles the idea that its respective age or artist formed of him' (Lissarrague 2000a: 147–8). Although the figure's head is larger than it should be in comparison to canonical body proportions in Greek art, and although its features are exaggerated, the whole scene is closer to the realm of fables than to the world of caricature. Animals endowed with speech are found in fables. They were already told and depicted long before in Egypt, essentially on *ostraka* but on papyri too.¹⁸ On a papyrus in the British Museum (fig. 124),¹⁹ a lion and an antelope are playing a game of *senet* (a version of draughts). These so-called caricatures should be called parodies or cartoons 'Egyptian style'. The inspiring political interpretation (a high priest plays draughts with a state governor) put forward by Ollivier-Beauregard (1894: 208–9) must sadly be discarded: the puns he detects are unjustified. According to Houlihan: 'The match thus pits the hunter against the hunted. From the triumphant expression on the face of the Lion, things look bleak for the antelope. This scene seems to imitate a similar episode featuring human players in the Book of the Dead' (1996: 214).

¹⁷ Vatican City, 16352.

¹⁸ On *ostraka*, see Brünner-Traut 1956, 1970, 1979 and van de Walle 1967. On *ostraka* and papyri, see Houlihan 1991, 2001.

¹⁹ Papyrus, London, British Museum, 10016; Houlihan 1996: 214, fig. 30. Scanned drawing, after Ollivier-Beauregard, 1894: 208.



Figure 124. Antelope and lion playing *senet*. Papyrus, London, British Museum, 10016. Scanned drawing, after Ollivier-Beauregard, 1894: 208.

Thinkers

The 'Aesop cup' is sometimes compared to an askos in Paris (fig. 125).⁴⁰ On one side, a bald deformed man leans on a staff; the other side shows a roaring lion. The man's body is absurdly small compared to his enormous head, larger than the whole body. He is leaning on a staff; his cloak is folded under his left arm and hangs off the staff. The 'Aesop cup' figure is caricatured in comparison to traditional iconography. This bald man is strikingly caricatured.⁴¹ His attitude is that of many nonchalant strollers at the palaestra, as a bystander depicted on a skyphos in Laon (fig. 126).⁴² With such a huge head and pensive attitude, this figure could be a caricature of a sophist (Zanker 1995: 32–9); not a sophist in particular but what the common artisan in the Potters quarter thought of sophists, who spent their time thinking or chatting at the palaestra. Sophists called themselves *phrontistai*, 'thinkers'. Views on sophists or philosophers in antiquity were diverse. In *Clouds*, Aristophanes gives a very critical and comical view of what was probably thought of intellectuals and 'wandering wonder-workers' in Athens by most Athenians: 'Bah! Good-for-nothings, I know. You're talking about those vagabonds, those pallid faces, those barefooted wanderers' (102–3); 'lazy, supplied with food for doing nothing' (334), 'who never went to the baths to wash' (837). Socrates himself, in a discussion on the needs of the philosopher, clearly despises the body, while holds in the highest regard the soul (Pl. *Phdr.* 64d, 65a). According to Metzler (1971: 101), the lion

⁴⁰ Askos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre, G610; (BA 2720); Pottier 1897: pl. 157; Dasein 1993: pl. 38.1; Mitchell 2000: fig. 13. From Italy, 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁴¹ For a physiognomic study and interpretation, see Zinserling 1967: 571–5.

⁴² Skyphos, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Municipal, 37.1034; (BA 232122); ARV² 832.32, Add² 295; CVA, Laon, Musée Municipal, pl. 51.5–6. From Greece, Euboea, Eretria; Amphitrite Painter; 450–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 125. *Caricatured bystander*, Askos, Attic RF, Paris, Musée du Louvre; G610; 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is as symbol of hoplite virtue routing out the sophist parasite. On a chous in Dresden,⁴¹ a man leans backwards on a staff and holds a skyphos. A jug lies on the ground. His head is larger than it should be, but he is not a dwarf. The painter did so to exaggerate certain facial features: in other words, a caricature. Could this grotesque figure be one of many pompous sophists that are mocked in the *Philogelos*, the 'intellectuals'? In one story, 'An intellectual came to visit the parents of a deceased colleague. The father was crying: 'O son, you have left me a cripple!' And the mother: 'O son, you took the light from my eyes!' Later on, the intellectual said to his friends: 'If he was really guilty of all

⁴¹ Chous, Attic RF, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, ZV1827; (BA 16395); van Hoorn 1951: fig. 240, no. 505. From Greece, Attica; Sotades Painter; 470–460 BC. See also Attic RF, Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, B559; (BA 216805), ARV² 1302.22; CVA, Adria, Museo Civico 1, pl. 34–35. From Italy, Adria; Penelope Painter; 440–420 BC. And see oinochoe fr, Attic RF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, S101616 (ex-E39); (BA 11640); Watzinger 1924: pl. 19.E19; CVA, Deutschland 52, Tübingen 4, pl. 37.5; 440–420 BC.



Figure 126. *Bystander*. Skyphos, Attic RF, Laon, Musée Municipal, 37.1034; Amphitrite Painter; 450–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

that he should have been burnt while he was still alive!' (*Philogelos* 69). This series of 'thinkers' could also be allusions to the 'parasites' invited to entertain guests at banquets, like Philipos the parasite in Xenophon's *Banquet*.

Or maybe the vase-painters were mocking wandering sophists, leaving one banquet to attend another. Some of them were careless of their looks and of what others could

think of their external appearance: witness Aristophanes' *Clouds* (146-7) in which a flea jumps from Kheirephon's head to Socrates', which implies that both are flea-ridden and dirty. On a cup fragment in Athens (fig. 3),⁴⁴ a man is crouching in order to defecate. He is shown in a rare attitude, but there is at least another example on a cup in Boston,⁴⁵ where a man with a cloak over his shoulders, wreath and a staff, bends forward, having defecated, and cleans himself with a stone (*Ar. Peace* 1228-39). On the fragment in Athens, the crouching caricatured man pinches his nose in a comic way because of the smell. He seems to be standing amongst broken vessels. His head is huge in comparison to his body, as in the previous scenes. This enables the painter to exaggerate the figure's protruding lips, unkempt hair, large nose, fluffy beard, and to show his teeth. The scene is unusual but the figure is not caricatured. On a fragment of a cup in Athens,⁴⁶ a man wearing the banquet headband, with a hooked nose and dirty face, is also relieving himself, crouched and balancing his weight on his staff. His head is larger than it should be but not as hypertrophied as the 'sophist' pinching his nose. Each of the crouching figures has an ugly face and stands in an obscene posture. From Aristophanes (*Clouds* 1390), we may assume that one often relieved oneself outdoors rather than indoors. It is surprising, however, to find such an attitude on a vase when not performed by a satyr.⁴⁷ If the man wearing a headband and holding a staff is probably a banqueter, the other fragment in Athens⁴⁸ shows a vagrant, with a large-head, outdoors. He is possibly crouching in a rubbish dump, as the old naked man crouching in front of a pile of dung on an oinochoe in Tours.⁴⁹ This might also explain why he is the only figure to hold his nose among the three other figures in defecating scenes.

2. CARICATURE, PARODY, AND CARNIVAL IN SITU AT THE KABIRION SANCTUARY IN BOEOTIA

In a time and region (Boeotia) where agriculture and pastoralism were of major concern, yearly festivals were often linked to seasons, such as Spring, or to specific agricultural moments, such as the harvest. Dionysos and Demeter were gods of vegetation. Apart from mythological rituals such as *sparagmos* (tearing of wild animals) and *omophagia* (the eating of raw animals), we do not know much about Dionysian rituals. The only context we do possess is the theatre, which we will come back to. The limitation of

⁴⁴ Athens, National Museum, 2. 1073.

⁴⁵ Cup, Attic RF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Res. 08.31.1; (BA 201586), ARV² 174.22, *Add* 92, *Add*² 184; Vermeule 1969: fig. 14. From Italy, Orvieto; Ambrosios Painter; 510-500 BC.

⁴⁶ Cup fr., Attic RF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum; (BA 30686); Keuls 1988: fig. 16; Pfuhl 1924: pl. 119. From Greece, Athens Acropolis; 490-480 BC.

⁴⁷ Cup, Attic RF, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3217; (BA 31637); CVA, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1, pl. 61.4, fig. 34. 440-420 BC. See also oinochoe, Attic BF, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 52290; (BA 25010); D'Amicis et al. 1994: 121, no. 104.15. From Italy, Taranto; 520-500 BC. And see cup, Attic BF, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1983.275; (BA 30411); Dierichs 1988: 45, fig. 66. 520-500 BC.

⁴⁸ Athens, National Museum, 2. 1073.

⁴⁹ Oinochoe, Attic RF, Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, D.70.6.52; (BA 5594); CVA, Tours et Bourges, Musée des beaux-arts et Musée du Berry, 16, pl. 11. 2.4. 440-420 BC.

archaeology (yet oddly enough its advantage in this case) is that we cannot study ritual out-of-context. Archaeology requires material evidence, and it needs it in situ.

The Kabirion sanctuary, named after the dedicatory inscriptions to the gods *Kabiros* and *Pais* (the child), gives us an opportunity to observe an agricultural and pastoral sanctuary of sorts, which also catered for a regular annual carnival. More than 300 drinking vessels painted with very striking caricatures were collected in the late nineteenth century at the Kabirion sanctuary, about six miles to the west of Thebes in Boeotia, central Greece. The study of the site and of its numerous vase-paintings, which show extraordinary parodies of daily activities and mythological scenes, have encouraged me to write on agrarian festive cults and carnival. I shall try to bring a clearer reading of the vases, using the insight gained from the careful examination and analysis of many other comic vases in the Athenian context. Furthermore, I will suggest different meanings to the presence of these vases at the sanctuary itself. Although the sanctuary and its pottery have subsequently received considerable attention, a number of questions remain unanswered or at least inadequately answered: What was the site's ritual identity? What was the nature of its venerated deity? Why were so many caricature paintings found in a sanctuary?

The word *carnival* in this chapter is used in a Bakhtinian sense, not unrelated to the European medieval carnival, but, at the same time, not constrained to that historical period either. Carnival, here, is a transcultural and sacred moment, which escapes the boundaries of normal social activity. It is a time of unruliness, when society's hierarchies, power dynamics, and 'usual' behaviour are turned inside-out and upside-down. It is a social-cleansing tool and a social safety-valve.

Bakhtin's Dilemma and Archaeology

Today, popular culture is a social science in its own right. It was not so before Bakhtin. In his book on Rabelais and his world, Bakhtin (1968) showed how carnival, as a phenomenon whose beginnings goes back to time immemorial, is a type of cleansing process, which enables *popular* culture to find its place in the world, especially as it is usually outshone and thus crushed by the so-called *elite* culture. The sacred period of carnival was a time that allowed for the empowerment of the common man who was usually powerless in the face of society. Carnival was not only the antithesis of everyday life but the reversal of all the usual dynamics of life. Carnival not only embraces the change of seasons but all positive forces that enable us to live and tolerate our social place and status. During carnival, everything is reversed and turned upside-down. For a limited and well-delimited time, we can mock whoever we please, whatever their political, moral, religious, or financial status, or the power and influence they wield in the usual setting. We can mock every normal hierarchical social or class structure, gender barrier or age difference. And yet, perversely, this 'controlled madness' will reinforce the social order and bring about a cohesion of the social entity. In the words of Bakhtin (1968: 9), it produces a 'utopian realm of community, freedom, equality and abundance'.

Although the actual term 'carnival' traces its origin to the medieval era, Bakhtin takes it to be an eternal and repetitive phenomenon, repeated with few changes, year-on-year.

This idea has not gone unscathed, and various scholars have noted that from historical evidence many carnivals have been anything but a positive and popular rejoicing. They have often given rise to uprisings, mini-revolutions, massacres, and social unrest. Yet, since carnivals were repeated regularly and every year, there would be no special reason to write about any specific occurrence of carnival-happening except when something went seriously wrong. That is common-historical-sense. A much graver criticism and historical question is *who* wrote about medieval carnival? Evidently, not the peasants, nor even Mr Everyman, but the learned strata of society, *the elite*. Can we trust unconditionally such a document, written by an elite, to understand a 'popular' movement? Or was it a 'popular' movement in the latin sense of the word, namely, the *populus*, the whole population?

Archaeology is a strange bedfellow to ritual. It can only observe it within a sacred space, such as a building, a temple, or a sanctuary. Each year, a popular carnival takes place in Notting Hill Gate in London.¹⁰ Some hundreds of thousands of people gather to rejoice, dance, scream, drink, or smoke intoxicating substances. There is no sign of the carnival a week before it happens, and none a week after. *Carnival is a temporal occurrence*, which cannot be studied in the usual 'post-mortem' fashion that archaeologists analyse most things. Equally, the temporality of carnival is also a problem for textual evidence. We only have documents when something goes wrong, and only documents written by the elite. But pottery evidence, through its iconography, can help us understand humour in a ritual context. Moreover, the objects in question (the vases) were not elitist artefacts! This pottery production was, as Athenian pottery, cheap to produce and widely available to most people. What the vases show and what they mocked occasionally in their paintings can be used to better understand not only the *popular strata of society* but also what the *populus* as a whole engaged in, including the 'elite'.

Traditional Views

Traditionally, discussions on the sanctuary have either focused on its cultic aspects, giving rise to mysterious mystery cults, or interpreted the caricatures as masks worn by actors, and therefore identified the place as a sanctuary centred around drama. The sanctuary may have catered for mysteries or for Boeotian drama, but this is not shown on the vases. In fact, something very different is shown, namely parodies of most daily activities and mythology, local and Panhellenic.

'Mysterious' Mystery Cults

A number of scholars have interpreted the vases in close connection to what they considered the Kabiric cult to be. An inscription with the word 'Kabiros' was found on the island of Samothrace, not far from the remains of a sanctuary to the great goddess. The

¹⁰ See A. Cohen 1993.

two cults were practically conflated by most scholars and later on almost impossible to dissociate. According to Lapalus (1930: 69), the ridiculed hero at the Kabirion is always a *juste souffrant*. The initiate either re-enacted or was presented with the sufferings of the hero for his own catharsis. Odysseus is the obvious suffering hero and is relatively well represented on the kantharoi. But I do not believe that Odysseus was a *juste souffrant*: his sufferings were his own doing. It is because of his hybris that he is punished.

According to Burkert (1996: 284), the mysteries of the island of Samothrace aimed to prevent drowning at sea and to promote successful voyages. He says too (1996: 283) that during the rituals at Samothrace 'the initiates wound a purple sash around their bodies; this presupposes undressing and probably a bath. In accordance with this, Odysseus stripped off his clothes during the tempest and wearing the veil of Leucothea jumped into the sea, which could no longer do him any harm'. Yet, as we will see, if the vases ridicule heroes, they do not praise their sufferings. Why show caricatured pygmies and so many other heroes? Why show parodies of hermaic processions? Many scholars see these vase-paintings as faithful replicas of the mysterious *dromena*. Each heroic parody would be a kind of *hieros logos*, a sacred myth. The parodies of herms show well enough the freedom of expression of the local or Theban painters. Do the vases represent precise ritual practises? Why would the vase-painters choose to represent mysteries on drinking cups? Festivals and various rituals of Demeter and Dionysos in Athens have been shown by many scholars to be closely related to ritual humour and carnival, but it has never been applied to this particular sanctuary, probably because the vases were interpreted erroneously in the first place. On the basis of my earlier work on Athenian visual humour, it appears to me that the scenes on the Kabirion vases were mocking *banal* activities and myths. It is not *what they show* that is strange or interesting, but the very fact of mocking that is. This, I believe, is the key to the mystery.

Drama

Another interpretation of the sanctuary is that plays were performed there based on the supposed 'masks' worn by the figures in the painted caricatures. The differences between caricature and masks will be discussed further. At the Kabirion, from the mid-fourth century onwards, a rectangular podium (which probably served uses other than theatrical) occupied a space that some scholars believed to be that of an *orchestra*, but there was no space available for an orchestra before the fourth century because a stream passed below the cavea at the foot of the slope. As almost nothing is known of Boeotian theatre, if plays were performed there, are we referring to Boeotian or to Athenian theatre or something else? The date of the figured Kabirion kantharoi is the second half of the fifth century to the early fourth century. Braun (KH 4.26-9) compares many pictures to Athenian plays of much later periods: did she choose that their date would coincide fortuitously with the approximate dates of Middle Comedy? Whether there was a theatre or not does not change the fact that caricatures on Kabirion kantharoi were being produced independently of the theatre. These caricatures were used to parody mythological pictures or common scenes of everyday life. It is the surprise of seeing in one picture both

mechanisms that made the viewer laugh. Both the expected and the caricatured depictions of the *Judgement of Paris* were found at the Kabirion: it is an *image-game* that is being played and not a still photograph of actors performing a comedy.

It is my contention that the site and the painted vases were connected with Dionysian feasting rather than 'mysterious' and unknown mystery cults, and that institutionalised humour, merry-making, and carnival linked to the agrarian cycle in the presence of Demeter and Dionysos were central to ritual practice at the Kabirion sanctuary.

The Site, the Vases, the Kabiroi

The Kabirion site is located in Boeotia in central Greece, about six-and-a-half miles west of Thebes. Most of the information that is commonly used on the Kabirion sanctuary is based on six volumes *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (KH1–KH6) as well as on Schachter's *Cults of Boiotia* (1986). An archaeological landscape survey of the area is sorely needed. Landscape archaeology and its *horizontal* approach appears in the 1980s, after a century of *vertical* excavation. If during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wealthy connoisseurs bought statues, vases, and other aesthetically pleasing objects on their *Grand Tour* of Italy and Greece, the nineteenth century is a century of scientific investigation, where ancient objects are recorded and studied in their excavated context, their *site*. Landscape archaeology simply goes one step further; it implies a study of a site in its greater context. We cannot fully understand who the people were who went to any sanctuary without studying the routes to the site, other nearby sites, and their physical or even visual interconnection with the primary site – if it does not become a secondary site! The nearby settlements and burials need to be addressed too.

As far as the site itself is concerned, there were two excavations campaigns (Schachter 1986: 66–7) under the supervision of German archaeologists. One between 1887 and 1888, and a second during the 1950s and 1960s. These excavations have unearthed many vases from various fabrics (Athenian, Boeotian, Corinthian, etc.), various periods, and different techniques. Among these, a special class of black-figure kantharoi has received its name from the location of its discovery: the *Kabirion kantharoi*. They must have been produced at or near the sanctuary itself. Although the black-figure technique had been partly abandoned in Attic pottery by the end of the sixth century, there were still workshops specialised in this technique in various Boeotian localities.⁵¹ Naturally, by this time, there was also Boeotian red-figure (Lullies 1940; A. D. Ure 1953). According to the specialist in Boeotian black-figure, Kilinski (1990: 2), we have few known Boeotian black-figure vases in comparison to the quantities available of Athenian and Corinthian material. He considers that this is also due to the fact that 'the pottery from the authorized excavations at Thebes, Haliartos, Tanagra, Pyri, and Acraephia remains largely unpublished'.

Another inherent problem encountered in Boeotian black-figure, but which can be used to an advantage in this study, is the strong resemblance between Attic and Boeotian

⁵¹ On Boeotian black-figure, see P. Ure 1927; Maffre 1975; and Kilinski 1990.

black-figure vases. Boeotian black-figure was mainly produced for the local market (Kilinski 1990: 54-9). The vase shapes produced in both fabrics are very similar: amphoriskos, hydria, oinochoe, olpe, psykter, lekythos, alabastron, aryballos, pyxis, kothon, lekane, plate, phiale, and many types of cups. At the beginning of the fifth century, most of these shapes followed the Athenian shapes. Boeotian cities, even large pottery centres like Tanagra, imported large quantities of Athenian vases. Many Corinthian and Athenian vases of the sixth and fifth centuries have been found at the Kabirion. According to Kilinski (1990: 63, 67) and other scholars, most of the Boeotian black-figure vases were based on an imitation of the works of Athenian vase-painters. I will compare Kabirion kantharoi to Boeotian iconography wherever possible but, in the light of what has been said above, I will not hesitate to compare the iconography of the Kabirion kantharoi with Athenian imagery of the fifth century.

The only Kabirion kantharoi shards found in votive pits at the sanctuary are of the pattern-decorated type. They show vine leaves, tendrils, or ivy. Only five vases among the figured ones have a precise discovery location: near the middle round tholos. The others were probably found at the Kabirion sanctuary or close to it. Concerning the cult practices at the sanctuary, except for some inscriptions of the third century (KH 1.20-35), a few hints in literature, and other types of objects found at the sanctuary (metal bulls, etc.), most of the knowledge is based on the study of the vases themselves. Of primary interest, here, is the large number of caricatured figures on the so-called 'Kabirion kantharoi' at the sanctuary.

The Vases Generally, the shape of these kantharoi consists of a deep cup with upper wall curving in at the bottom (and slightly at the lip), a narrow ring foot, and two spurred ring handles. The figured decoration of the Kabirion kantharoi is generally limited to the upper half of the vase between the handles on each side. Thick black glaze is used for the depiction of figures or ornaments. Clothes, anatomical details, and other features are incised or rendered with applied white pigment.

The specific historical period during which the Kabirion ware was produced is difficult to ascertain. According to Bruns (KH 1.95-128), the figured Kabirion kantharoi were produced between 440 and 420 BC, the pattern decorative Kabirion kantharoi 420 to 400, and the Kabirion kantharoi of lesser quality from 400 to the mid-third century. Braun (KH 4.32-33) extends the production to the third century BC, with the bulk of production in the fourth, reaching a peak in the second half of that century. Schachter (1986: 78) points out that because some Kabirion ware¹² was found in the earlier of the two pyres at the Thespian polyandron,¹³ which dates to the fourth quarter of the fifth century, the ware must have been produced at least from ca. 425 BC. We may consider the production to have begun in the 450s and ended in the late fourth century. The

¹² Kabirion Kantharos, Boeotian BF; Thebes, Archaeological Museum, Θ11570; KH 4.67.413=KH 1.99K14, pl. 31.1-2; Schilardi 1977: I 112, no. 3, II 4, no. 3. From the Thespian Polyandron. 425-375 BC. See also Kabirion Kantharos, Boeotian BF; Thebes, Archaeological Museum, Θ1701; KH 4.67.414=KH 1.114S7, pl. 36.1-4; Schilardi 1977: I 113, no. 4, II 5, no. 4. From the Thespian Polyandron. 425-375 BC. And see Kabirion Kantharos, Boeotian BF; Thebes, Archaeological Museum, Θ1491; KH 4.67.415=KH 1.119, pl. 39.9; Schilardi 1977: I 233, no. 111. From the Thespian Polyandron. 425-375 BC.

¹³ On the Thespian Polyandron, see Schilardi 1977.

figured kantharoi must be dated earlier than the pattern-decorative kantharoi, between approximately 450 and 375 BC.

The Kabiroi I use the word Kabiroi to refer to the gods/*daimons* in the Kabirion (not the atticised Kabeiron) mystery sanctuary near Thebes and not Kabeiroi, which I reserve for the similar gods in mystery sanctuaries in Samothrace and Lemnos (Hemberg 1950: 318; Schachter 1986: 66, n.1). The word Kabiros may be of semitic origin, from *kabir* 'lord' (Schachter 1986: 96, n.4), and the research on Samothrace is documented to an extent by Lehmann (1960) and Roux (1981). The 'Kabirion kantharoi' are sometimes referred to as 'skyphoi' or simply as 'ware': I will follow Braun's 'kantharoi'.

The local cult (?) was performed in honour of the two Kabiroi in Thebes, *Kabiros* and *Pais* (Paus. 9.25.5). According to Pausanias (9.25.6), they were called the Kabeiraioi Prometheus and Aitnaïos, and the Mother Kabeiraia would have instituted initiations. Kabiros is depicted as Dionysos in Athenian iconography, reclining, crowned with ivy, in a long *chiton*, and drinking from a kantharos.

The cult of the Kabiroi is mainly attested at Thebes and on the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos. The major city in Lemnos is Hephaistia, after the god Hephaistos, the most revered god on the island. Many wine vessels were found at a sanctuary on Lemnos where dedications to the Kabeiroi were found. According to Burkert (1996: 281), a dedication on Lemnos to the god who 'jests by the way' (*parapazonti*) points to the burlesque in the Lemnian cult.¹⁴

While at Lemnos the Kabeiroi were smiths, at Thebes the *Kabiroi* promoted cattle-raising, as numerous votive inscribed metallic bulls were found in the sanctuary at a very early stage (*KH* 2, 59–60), in votive pits with sheep or goat bones. This worked hand-in-hand with viticulture as the agricultural economy developed. The Theban Kabiroi are attested by name from the end of the seventh century but were probably established there by the eighth. Near Thebes, the 'Kabirion' sanctuary seems to have focused on agricultural and pastoral matters, fertility and wine.

Caricature and Masks, 'Initiates' and Revellers

A mask is an object made of rigid material (wood, leather, wax, plaster etc.) with which one covers the human face to transform its natural aspect. Masks can have a number of purposes, including ritual and dramatic ones. The word itself comes from the French (1511), *masque*, from the Italian, *maschera*, and from medieval Latin, *masca*. This word originally meant a 'witch'. This may explain why the word has such ritual undertones and why some scholars, when confronted to the Kabirion representations that were thought to show men and women wearing masks, identified them as initiates of a mysterious Kabirion cult. This led most of these scholars to identify these everyday life scenes as mysterious ritualistic representations. What seems to be a mask in a two-dimensional

¹⁴ This may have a connection to the burlesque return of drunken Hephaistos to the Olympus led by Dionysos.



Figure 127. *Four caricatured banqueters*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3286. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

representation is, more often than not, simply a caricature. A caricature as we have seen elsewhere is a grotesque or ludicrous representation of persons or things by the exaggeration of their most characteristic and striking features.

Let us take an example. A kantharos in Berlin (fig. 127)⁵⁵ shows four caricatured reclining figures drinking wine at a symposium. These have been identified by most scholars as four masked initiates drinking at a ‘sacred gathering’. If we observe the figures carefully, we notice there are two couples, an older bearded man and a youth. If we compare this scene to a typical scene shown in the many hundreds in Athenian iconography, as on a bell-krater in Reading (fig. 128),⁵⁶ we can identify this scene as homoerotic lovers drinking at the symposium. The only difference is that they are caricatured, not just the faces but the entire body! Are they wearing *fake* bodies too? The caricatured bodies are often naked, which eliminates any possibility of theatrical tricks, such as special costumes with front or back padding or phalloi. Caricature is evident in face, body, and attitudes. The grotesque facial features are exaggerated to such an extent that their appearance can hardly be taken seriously. The body is deformed generally in the following way: protruding buttocks, bulging bellies, and hanging long genitals. What is most striking is the stillness of the mask-like frontal faces; the gaping mouth and staring eyes. A caricatured face in profile does not remind the viewer of a mask. Even if frontal faces are rare, this is what they look like in caricature. One might still assume that they are wearing masks as they seem to have handles attached to the top of their heads, but, once again, careful comparison with another kantharos, belonging to the same caricatural style in Heidelberg (fig. 129),⁵⁷ shows a sash attached to a tree trunk: the knot looks exactly like

⁵⁵ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3286; *KH* 1.106M4, S107, pl. 28.3=*KH* 4.64.358, pl. 23.6. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵⁶ Bell-krater, Attic RF, Reading, Reading Museum and Art Gallery, 45.VIII.1; (BA 217955), *ARV*² 1411.37; *CVA*, Reading, University 1, pl. 26.2a–c. Meleager Painter; 400–370 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁵⁷ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 190; *KH* 1.109M15, pl. 26.11, 53.6=*KH* 4.66.387. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 128. *Four banqueters*. Bell-krater, Attic RF, Reading, Reading Museum and Art Gallery, 45.VIII.1; Meleager Painter; 400–370 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

our banqueters' *handle*. Looking back to our banqueters, we now see the fringes of the same sash type on either side of their heads. The same can be said of the twigs in their hair: they are found in many Athenian representations and not necessarily ritual scenes. Not every twig is a golden bough!

Some figures on non-caricatural vases found at the Kabirion are wearing masks, such as the one with a well-proportioned body but for his bull's head.¹⁸ He is dancing between two figures, one with a satyr's tail (?) and the other holding a torch. He is not the Minotaur dancing between two citizens. When Pan is depicted at the Kabirion, he does not have human but goat's feet.¹⁹ On the only vase²⁰ showing him with human feet, the figure has incised trunks: a tail may have been attached to it. Bruns named the painter (or group of painters) who painted the vase in Berlin²¹ the *Mystes Painter* because he painted many so-called 'initiates'. In general, one must be very careful with the attribution of vases, and therefore to attribute paintings to one painter when faced with so few vases (compared with the large number of Athenian vases available) is unwise to say the least! In the case of the Kabirion, it is preferable to say that most of the works attributed to the

¹⁸ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 545; *KH* 1, pl. 32.2. 450–375 BC.

¹⁹ See (*KH* 1, pl. 57.2, 3, 5, 7).

²⁰ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität; S101361; *CVA*, Tübingen 1, pl. 51.3. 450–375 BC.

²¹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 3057; *KH* 1.112M30, pl. 55.4=*KH* 4.67.403. 450–375 BC.

is most commonly used to understand the Dionysian ritual is Euripides' *Bacchants*. The entire play takes place in Thebes and its surroundings. It is no coincidence. Old Kadmos, founder of the city of Thebes, is a follower of Dionysos. Even though he and old Tiresias are mocked in the play by his grandson Pentheus because two old noble men dancing with flowers in their hair is indeed a strange sight, they are in fact simply performing their religious duty.

In a play by Aeschylus entitled *Kabeiroi* (Fr. 45 [Mette]), the chorus of gods introduces itself as 'prodigious wine drinkers'. The importance of wine and wine celebrations is of course also deduced from the many wine vessels found at the Kabirion. They were of many shapes, techniques, periods, and from a diversity of fabrics (Athenian, Corinthian, and Boeotian).

Dionysos, a master of illusions, can take any shape, name, or form. But, on an iconographic level, Dionysos is easily identifiable. He often wears a long himation, with wreaths and ivy in his hair, and when reclining as at a banquet, he invariably holds the same wine-drinking vessel, a kantharos. In Athenian iconography, Dionysos is very often attended by a satyr, his servant. On the Kabirion kantharoi, he is attended by a youth, Pais in Greek. Most dedications include both gods, Kabiros and Pais. Many spinning tops dedicated to Pais were found at the Kabirion. A Kabirion kantharos fragment (fig. 130)⁶¹ shows the godly figure to the right, with its name inscribed, 'KABIROS'; he is drawn at a much larger scale than all human characters in the scene. He is reclining, with wreaths and ivy in his hair, and holds in his right hand a kantharos. There are six figures in total, of which three are caricatured. All the names of the figures are inscribed. From left to right stand: a caricatured man, inscribed 'MITOS'; a non-caricatured woman, inscribed 'KRATEIA', embracing the former; a caricatured boy, inscribed 'PRATOLAOS'; a non-caricatured boy, inscribed 'PAIS'; and a large reclining non-caricatured Dionysos-Kabiros, inscribed 'KABIROS', holding a kantharos. A separate fragment from the same kantharos shows a caricatured woman, inscribed 'SATY[RA]'. There have been many interpretations of this representation. Assuredly, Kabiros and his son or servant are represented because their names are inscribed. *Pratolaos* could mean 'the first man' or the 'first born'. *Krateia*, from *kratos* in Greek, which means strength and power, may be a personification of *Power*. *Mitos*, which means 'thread' in Greek, has given rise to a complex cosmogony by Moret (1991).

What is unusual is that some figures are caricatured and some are not. This has been taken as proof that they are wearing masks (Daumas 1998: 38, fn. 113). Only Kabiros, Pais, and a woman named *Krateia* are not caricatured. Of these three, Kabiros and Pais are referred to in numerous inscriptions as gods, or at least, according to Schachter, as attendants to the greater gods or the Mother. Could *Krateia* be the Mother *Kabeirai*? She is not referred to as such in inscriptions, and she is represented at the same scale as the human, caricatured figures in our painting. She could be another 'divine attendant'. It must be stressed that she is not part of the group *Mitos-Pratolaos-Saty[ra]*, which could simply be a family of worshippers (Burkert 1996: 282). Burkert discards the symbolic

⁶¹ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BE, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10426; 450-375 BC. 450-375 BC. Scanned photograph, after KH 1.96K1, pl. 5, 44.1.



Figure 130. *Divine Kabiros, Pais, and a few caricatured human followers.* Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10426. 450–375 BC. Scanned photograph, after KH 1.96K1, pl. 5, 44.1.

meanings of their names as they were common Boeotian names. They are not necessarily a family but could be any group of worshippers. They are caricatured, and this differentiates them from the gods but also from other usual figures also found at the sanctuary. In my view, we have here a parody of a ritual scene! The gods are not mocked, only the human worshippers. A sash is tied around Kabiros's head, which shows off the unusual knot we have seen elsewhere. This specific knot may have had some function in the local ritual. The reclining figure named Kabiros appears, without the inscription, on another vase in Athens.⁶⁴ He is painted on a much larger scale than any other figure in the composition. He is reclining and holds a drinking-horn, as Dionysos often does. A bull is set in the background. The procession of worshippers is headed by a child in himation, followed by an old caricatured woman holding a stick and a purse; she is followed by two other caricatured women, one holding a Kabirion kantharos. The god, once again, is not caricatured and is the only figure not to be. He is depicted in the same fashion on two other fragmentary vases.⁶⁵

It is astonishing to find such parodies of ritual in a sanctuary, and the various scenes with 'initiates' are probably parodies of local ritual as well. A kantharos⁶⁶ showing a caricatured man dressed in himation with small branches in his hair has been identified

⁶⁴ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10466; KH 1.96K2, pl. 6–7, 17.3=KH 4.62.297. 450–375 BC.

⁶⁵ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum; KH 1.97K3, pl. 8.1=KH 4.63.305. 450–375 BC. And see Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Archäologische Institut, 29.5481; KH 1.97K4, pl. 50.7. 450–375 BC.

⁶⁶ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Kabirion Excavation; KH 4. 38.8, pl. 1.10 (K 1751). 450–375 BC.

reclining bearded man is served by a youth. The style is extremely coarse: the bodies are badly proportioned and the anatomical details unskillfully drawn. This was not done purposefully. The exaggeration, however, is noticeable in the youth's pot-belly and skinny chest. Another kantharos⁷⁵ shows three male caricatured figures. A naked pot-bellied lyre-player with a massive erection pretends to penetrate from behind a naked dwarf-like pipe-player. The latter bends and pushes his buttocks outwards, which emphasises the size of his belly, hanging over his thighs. An unnatural gaping mouth distorts the face of the reclining figure dressed in himation; it is similar to a mask of Old Comedy. He is not, however, wearing a mask; this is a caricatured face, perhaps based on a type of mask: a mask is a form of caricature, one that can be worn! On another kantharos fragment,⁷⁶ a dwarf-like naked man with a disproportioned and deformed head, jutting lips, and a pot-belly is serving himself at a krater. The style of the caricature could be closer to the last representation.

Athletics

A kantharos in Berlin (fig. 131)⁷⁷ shows grotesque athletes exercising. Two emaciated wrestlers are depicted with large loosely hanging genitals instead of being tethered. The athlete on the left has a jutting lower jaw, a snub nose, and untamed hair. To their right, two other naked athletes are wrestling. These are stout caricatured dwarfs: their legs amount to a quarter of their total height, and the head of the dwarf on the right is greatly disproportioned. Further to the right, a runner in arms is stooping and almost touches the ground with his hand, as on another kantharos.⁷⁸ Another kantharos (fig. 132)⁷⁹ shows an unusual race between old men, with white hair and beard, and young men. The painter has shown comically the old man on his way to win the race. On a kantharos in London,⁸⁰ in the same caricatural style as the four caricatured banqueters in Berlin, an *aulētēs*, a dancer, and a singer, stand on a mini-podium. The dancer is holding a *tympanon* and the singer a branch bent into a crown and branches in his hair. It is probably a parody of a musical *agōn*.

Hunting

There are a number of caricatured vase-paintings depicting hunters at the Kabirion. No mystical reason for this need be invoked as it was a common activity at the time, both

⁷⁵ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Kabirion Excavation; KH 4.42.74, pl. 5.1, K 1244+1509, 450–375 BC.

⁷⁶ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Kabirion Excavation; KH 4.46.115, pl. 7.14, K 3149, 450–375 BC.

⁷⁷ Berlin, 3179.

⁷⁸ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, S157; KH 1.99K17, pl. 50.10=KH 4.66.384, 450–375 BC.

⁷⁹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 301; KH 1.112M32, pl. 30.1–2=KH 4.65.362, 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁸⁰ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, British Museum, B78; KH 1.112M31, pl. 55.5=KH 4.67.400, 450–375 BC.



Figure 131. *Caricatured athletes*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3179. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 132. *Caricatured old men runners*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 301. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

in reality as well as in imagery. A kantharos in Karlsruhe⁸¹ shows a deer hunt in which two naked hunters are partially caricatured. The composition also includes a hedgehog and a tiny mound to indicate a rise in the landscape. The first hunter holds a crooked spear while the second holds a type of withered club. The face of the first is caricatured with bulging eyes, a snub nose, and a jutting jaw. They are both dishevelled. The second hunter runs behind his hound pursuing the deer. The bodies are, however, well proportioned and slim. The next two depictions, probably by the same hand, show a grotesque hunter, wearing an absurdly small *petasos*, with his hound. On a kantharos in Athens,⁸² a naked hunter and his dog pursue a hare. His face has African facial traits, such as jutting lower jaw and lips, a snub nose, and tightly curled hair. The other side shows a fox, a dog, and a sleeping hunter. The naked hunter's gaunt limbs contrast with his pot-belly, his large hanging genitals, and his disproportioned head. On a kantharos in Dresden,⁸³

⁸¹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B2596; *KH* 1.104K54, pl. 32.12, 31.1–4=*KH* 4.66.388. 450–375 BC.

⁸² Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12547; *KH* 1.98K7, pl. 26.1–2, 50.8=*KH* 4.62.298. 450–375 BC.

⁸³ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum, ZV1210; *KH* 1.98K11, pl. 31.5–6=*KH* 4.66.379, pl. 24.1–2. 450–375 BC.

a grotesque hunter attacked by his own hound defends himself with his cloak and spear. Finally, on a kantharos in Heidelberg (fig. 129),⁸⁴ a hunter, naked but for his *chlamys* on his left forearm, pursues a boar in a rocky landscape indicated by vegetation and rocks to the right. The style of the caricature is very similar to the 'Berlin banqueters': the rendering of the eyes, the hair, the chest (two circles underlined by brackets, separated by a line), the large genitals, and more generally, the figure's posture and the painter's sense of movement. Even the boar is made to look like a plump defenceless domesticated pig on the run. We are far from the Calydonian boar hunt. The special Kabirion knot – to give it a name – is noticeable in a sash tied to a plant in the middle of the composition. It gives the picture a sense of movement, of the wind blowing, like Odysseus's sail-like cloak on a vase in Oxford (fig. 141).⁸⁵

Walking his Dog

All men with dogs are not necessarily hunters. A caricatured man wearing a himation is walking his dog on a Kabirion kantharos.⁸⁶ He is just a caricatured citizen promenading in an urban setting.

Wine Merchant

A caricatured merchant on a Kabirion kantharos⁸⁷ is leading, on foot, a cart pulled by a curious assortment of animals, a donkey, and a horse. He holds a horse whip in his right hand. The cart is heavily loaded with what must be wine containers. He is approaching a couple: a man leaning on his cane, a woman standing beside him. Behind the couple is a wine container on a stand. The decorative grape is hanging above all the figures in the scene, as on many Kabirion kantharoi.

Slavery and African Facial Traits

Not all figures are debased citizens. In the tondo of a cup (fig. 133),⁸⁸ a caricatured African slave carries a sponge and a bucket, both cleaning objects. He is chained by the ankle. On a kantharos fragment (fig. 134),⁸⁹ a caricatured dwarf-like African slave,

⁸⁴ Heidelberg, 190.

⁸⁵ Kabirion skyphos, Boeotian BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G249 (V262); (BA 680002); KH 4.67.409, pl. 23, 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁸⁶ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF; KH 1 pl. 31.6, 450–375 BC.

⁸⁷ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10429; KH 1.98.K9, pl. 10, 11, 44.4=KH 4.63.303; Bruneau, P. (1962) BCH 86: 203, 5, fig. 5, 450–375 BC.

⁸⁸ Cup, Boeotian BF, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, k94/9, 15; CVA, Holland 4, Leiden 2, pl. 63.3, 450–400 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁸⁹ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10530; KH 1.103K44, pl. 15.4=KH 4.63.320, 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 133. *Caricatured black slave*. Cup, Boeotian BF, The Hague, K94/9,15. 450–400 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

with jutting lips, snub nose, frizzy hair, naked, and macrophallic, is desperately trying to stop a dog from devouring meat from a *trapeza*, a banquet table, by pulling with all his body weight on the leash. Snowden (1970: 161) could not understand why Greek artists chose to depict Africans and African-looking pygmies. It seems that the artists give their figures African features as a caricatural device. Their unusual facial appearance, frizzy hair, jutting jaw, big lips, snub nose, and skin colour, in comparison to the Greek face and body, must have seemed a 'natural' caricature.²⁰ Added to these features

²⁰ There is a significant literature on the representations of Africans in ancient art: Bernal, M. (1987) *Black Athena: The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (Vol. I and Vol. II). London: Free Association

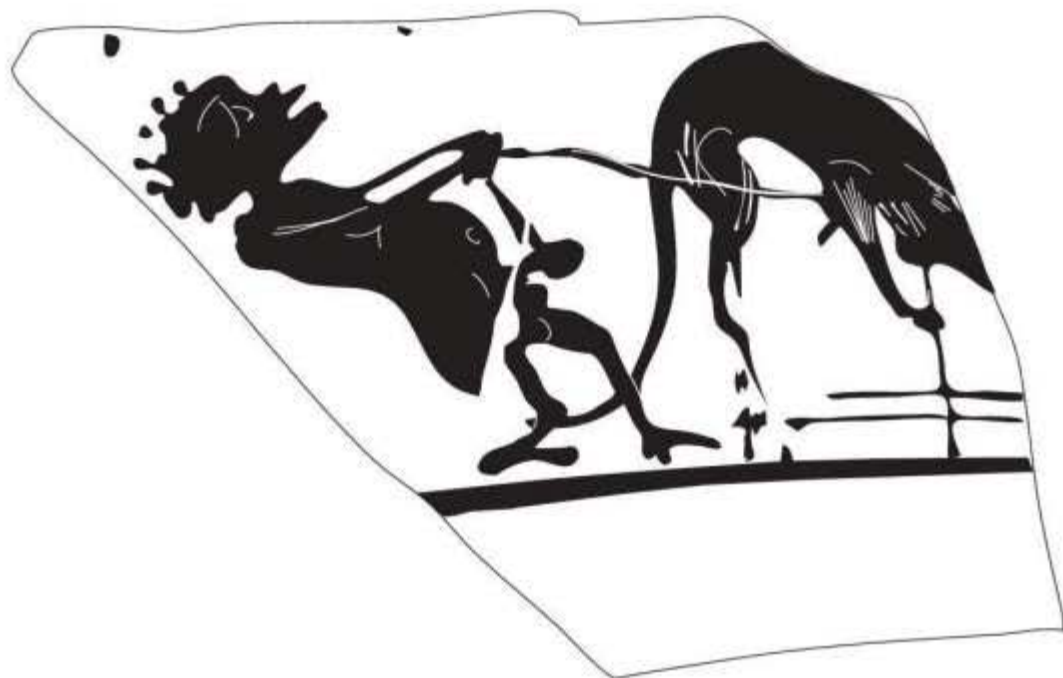


Figure 134. *Caricatured black slave restraining a dog from scoffing food from a banquet table.* Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10530. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is dwarfism, which makes the final caricature more than a super-‘natural’. In the face of the usual Greek body-beautiful aesthetics, it makes them seem grotesque and thus humorous. Other slaves, identifiable by their ragged clothing and chained by the foot, are caricatured in a similar style.⁹¹

Books; Bernal, M. (1995) “Race, Class and Gender in the Formation of the Aryan Model of Greek Origins”. *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 94: 987–1008; Biers, W. R. (1983) “Some Thoughts on the Origin of the Attic Head Vase”, in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*. Warren G. Moon (ed.). Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press: 119–26; Cook, R. M. (1937) “Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt”. *JHS* 57: 227–37; Lefkowitz, M. R. (1996) *Black Athena Revisited*. Chapel Hill: University of NC Press; Levine, M. M. (1992) “The Use and Abuse of Black Athena”. *American Historical Review* 97.3: 440–60; (Snowden 1970); Snowden, F. (1976) *Témoignages Iconographiques sur les Populations Noires dans l’Antiquité Gréco-Romaine*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts; Snowden, F. (1981) “Aithiopes”, in *LIMC* I. Zurich: Artemis: 413–19; Snowden, F. (1983) *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Snowden, F. (1987) *Blacks in the Ancient Greece and Roman World: An Introduction to the Exhibit*. Washington, DC: Howard University Libraries; Trigger, B. (1992) “Brown Athena: A Post Processual Goddess”. *Current Anthropology* 33.1: 121–3; Van Sertima, I. (1988) *Black Women in Antiquity*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books; Vercoutter, J., Snowden F. M. et al. (1976) *The Image of the Black in Western Art I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire*. New York: Morrow.

⁹¹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum, ALG18 (ex-Lucerne Market, ex-collection Ludwig, 32); Webster, MMC2 81, no. BV9. 450–375 BC.



Figure 135. *Parody of a herma procession*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 426. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Hermaic Pillar Cult

We have already seen how the common hermaic pillar cult is mocked in Athenian iconography.⁹² A kantharos in Athens (fig. 135)⁹³ shows a procession of stout caricatured figures advancing towards a herm. A man bent on his cane follows a woman. In front, a smaller figure holds a tray with objects placed on top. A sow precedes the smaller figure. The style of the caricature is different from the depictions of the four banqueters: the rendering of their eyes is different and the bodies are less schematised, except the herm itself, which is grotesquely caricatured. There is another parody of a herma procession in the same caricatural style on a kantharos in Kassel,⁹⁴ but the sacrificial procession includes a bull, as on the kantharos in Athens, which shows a procession towards Kabiros himself.⁹⁵

Butchery and Sacrifice

Both butchers and sacrificers are called *mageiros* in Greek. They share the same knife, the *machaira*, carving techniques, and the end result is chopped meat for consumption. Having seen personally the amount of meat from just one butchered cow, a hundred sacrificed oxen would offer too much meat to be eaten at a sacrifice: it was probably later sold in butcheries across the city. Butchers usually cut meat over a tripod with their *machaira*. Sacrificers are probably all butchers who take on this special role during ritual. When butchers are shown with twigs in their hair in Athenian iconography, they may be performing as sacrificers. On a Kabirion kantharos fragment (fig. 136),⁹⁶ a caricatured

⁹² See Chapter 3, 'Hermaic Cult'; in South Italian parody, see Chapter 4, Section 1.

⁹³ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 426; *KH* 1.101K25, pl. 33.2, 51.4=KH 4.62.290. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell

⁹⁴ Kabirion Kantharos, Boeotian BF, Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum, T424; *KH* 1.5101K26, pl. 51.5–6=KH 4.66.389. 450–375 BC.

⁹⁵ Athens, National Museum, 10466.

⁹⁶ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P217; *KH* 1.102K29, pl. 52.2=KH 4.65.373. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 136. *Caricatured sacrificer and boy*. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, P217. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

butcher with a large gaping mouth walks dressed only in his chitonisko, and holding a *machaira*. He is advancing towards an altar. A young naked boy follows him closely, holding a few vessels. The coarse style is different from the herm caricatures and also from that of the four banqueters. The drawing is careless.

These last caricatures do not parody the Kabirion mysteries but ordinary hermaic pillar cult scenes, well documented in Athenian vase-painting. There were different styles of caricature. This implies that different artists or workshops were producing caricatures; it was not the whim of just one painter. Even though the facial style of representation of the Kabirion figures is more vivid than those in Athenian black-figure, it is almost purposefully more 'crass', as if painters used one kind of brush for 'serious' vases and a thicker one for caricatures. In Athens, the numerous representations of African faces on so-called head vases often show two faces in moulded clay of the 'other': on one side, the face of an African (slave), and on the other, the face of a woman. One also finds representations of sleeping African slaves curled up against an amphora, or African shoe-shiners. Have things changed that much over the centuries? All one needs to do is look at the use of the African 'other' in the (now) infamous golliwog rag dolls, which can still be bought today.



Figure 137. *Wedding procession*. Pyxis, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1920.12–21.1; Marlay Painter; 440–420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

Marriage

The usual iconography of marriage processions shows, as on a pyxis in London (fig. 137),⁹⁷ a couple on a chariot leaving the old house to enter the new. Two figures hold blazing torches, which indicates that the procession used to happen by night. The mother looks on her daughter from the open door, two female figures carry various presents for the new household, and a male character follows the couple, holding a torch. The bride is always veiled. The noble horses pull the chariot at a steady pace, and leading the procession is the *parochos*, the groom's friend, who is always shown at the head of the procession when he is present in a scene (Hes. [sc.] 270–85; Ar. *Birds* 1740). A scene on a Kabirion kantharos in Athens⁹⁸ has been hailed as a typical representation of the 'Kabirion cult'. It shows, from left to right, a veiled woman and two caricatured and bearded men dressed in himation, with twigs in their hair, one leaning on a staff and the other holding wine drinking vessels. Then comes a grotesque dancer with very emaciated legs and a gigantic belly, waving two blazing torches. His caricatured face is shown frontally. Further right, two women with large puffed cheeks, one holding a sash, the other holding her hands extended as in discussion. This scene could well be a preparation to a wedding. The best parody of a wedding procession is on a kantharos in Athens (fig. 138).⁹⁹ From left to right, a caricatured bearded man holding a cane follows a dancer with a Phrygian hat; a pipe-player with twigs and a sash tied around his head is sitting on the bearded man's shoulders. Then comes a cart drawn by two sexually aroused donkeys, rushing forward. Sitting on chairs in the cart where the bride and groom should be, two figures dressed as female figures, one of which holds a mirror, are talking. A naked older man is trying to climb onto the cart with one leg already set on the back. His genitals are shown in full view. Instead of jumping with both hands forward onto the fast moving cart, he stumbles, impeded by the cane in his left hand and the himation over his shoulders.

The usual iconography (fig. 137) is inverted at various levels: ithyphallic donkeys rushing forward instead of dignified horses advancing at a steady pace; a veiled groom

⁹⁷ Pyxis, Attic RF, London, British Museum, 1920.12–21.1; (BA 216210), ARV² 1277.23, 1282.1, 1689, *Add.* 357; ARFH II, fig. 243. From Greece; Marlay Painter; 440–420 BC. Line drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

⁹⁸ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 427; KH 1.106M2, pl. 33.3, 53.3=KH 4.62.292. 450–375 BC.

⁹⁹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 424 (ex-Coll. Couve 1132); KH 1.108M6, pl. 33.1=62.289. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.



Figure 138. *Parody of a wedding procession*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 424. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

instead of a veiled bride who is not veiled and holding a mirror; and the character who is late and trying to get on the chariot rather than leading it is probably the *parochos*! It is the casual, lively, and joyful atmosphere of this scene that lends itself to comedy too: every figure is caricatured and shown performing an individual action.

A Choice of Mythological Scenes Parodied at the Kabirion

Panhellenic Mythology

Pygmies Fighting Cranes We have discussed elsewhere various representations of the ‘heroic’ fight between the pygmies and the cranes.¹⁰⁰ The Kabirion offers even more grotesque figures than Athenian visual humour. The Kabirion vase-painters made even ‘naturally’ grotesque figures seem more ridiculous. There are at least five depictions of pygmies and cranes.¹⁰¹ On the first, a kantharos in Berlin (fig. 139),¹⁰² from left to right, while a pygmy tries to free himself from his own mantel, a crane plunges its beak into his rear. Another grotesque pygmy tries to save his friend. Further right, a ‘primordial’ pygmy, crouching atop a stack of stones, with a fierce facial expression crunches a crane’s neck.

The pygmies have scrawny legs, large bellies, flaccid oversized genitals, and protruding buttocks. The central pygmy, trying to free his friend, had a bulbous nose and flabby lips.

On the other side of the vase, as in a hunting scene, two pygmies, both wearing a *petasos*, a large brimmed hat often worn by hunters and travellers, fight cranes with

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 3, ‘Pygmies and Cranes’.

¹⁰¹ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3159; KH 4.64.354=KH 1.108M7, pl. 53.2, 29.3–4. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10530; KH 4.63.324=KH 1.111M29, pl. 12.1–2. 450–375 BC. See also Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12880; KH 4.62.299=KH 1.108M8, pl. 54.2. 450–375 BC. See Berlin, 3179. See also Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.534; Fairbanks 1928: 197, no. 564, pl. 70. 450–375 BC.

¹⁰² Berlin, 3159.



Figure 139. *Caricatured pygmies and cranes*. Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3159.450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

spears. The pygmy on the left rides a donkey. It is quite amusing to realise that because the pygmy is as tall as the crane, the donkey should be much bigger. Moreover, fighting with a spear on a donkey, instead of on a horse, is comical too. The other pygmy, on foot, fights a crane with its wings extended, whilst a cunning crane in front of the first one, having avoided the spear, attacks the pygmy's dangling genitals.

Bellerophon and the Chimaera On a fragment in Athens,¹⁰³ a man, with dangling genitals, is pulling a winged horse in the presence of the Chimaera. The hero is most probably Bellerophon 'fighting' the Chimaera. The parody in the scene is based on Pegasus's terror, on his unexpected attempt to escape from the monster, and on the hero dragging the unwilling winged horse towards the Chimaera. In the myth, Pegasus is a powerful and magical steed and is Bellerophon's main ally in killing the monster.

Judgement of Paris A kantharos in Boston (fig. 140)¹⁰⁴ shows a parody of the *Judgement of Paris*. Hermes is identified by his *petasos* and kerykeion, Paris by his Phrygian hat and his attitude, that is, sitting on a rock and playing the lyre. The name of one of the female figures is inscribed: 'Hera'. There are, however, four female figures in total, not three. The figure holding a wreath in both hands is probably Aphrodite. The two other goddesses could be playing the game of *morra* (KH 1, 109) to decide which goddess is to be the third participant. All the figures' faces are clearly caricatured. Hera is shown in frontal view, with her mouth open. We have seen enough parodies of the *Judgement of Paris* in Athenian representations not to follow the dramatic interpretation of Webster (MMC2, BV6) and Braun (KH 4.10) who see in these facial caricatures masks of comedy. The serious iconographic model of the judgement existed in Boeotian black-figure.¹⁰⁵ The fact we have a serious representation of a parodied myth is proof enough that we have here an iconographic parody and not a representation of a comic play. The goddesses may be playing a game of *morra* while they wait for Paris to make up his mind. There is another parody of the *Judgement* on a kantharos in London:¹⁰⁶ a wreathed male is reclining on

¹⁰³ Kabirion kantharos fr., Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10530; KH 4.63.324=KH 1.111M29, pl. 12.1–2. 450–375 BC.

¹⁰⁴ Boston, 99.533.

¹⁰⁵ Boeotian bowl, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8069 (565); KH 1.117, pl. 28.1. 450–375 BC.

¹⁰⁶ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, Private collection, B. Swannenburg; KH 4.67.401. 450–375 BC.



Figure 140. Caricatured goddesses waiting for Paris to pronounce his judgement. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.533. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

a couch and offering a wreath to a woman (Aphrodite?); behind her are two caricatured women (Athena? Hera?) one of whom is looking into a mirror.

Sack of Troy (Menelaus and Helen) A kantharos formerly on the Lucerne market¹⁰⁷ shows a scene from the *Ilioupersis*: Cassandra is running towards the Palladion, pursued by Ajax, and Helen and Menelaus are running towards each other. Helen looks back at Cassandra but she is already holding Menelaus's hand. The figures are caricatured, so even if they depicted in an almost traditional attitude, the scene is a parody of conventional iconography. Menelaus's body is misshaped with large buttocks and a bulging belly, a long nose, and dangling genitals. He is not ithyphallic, although it would be appropriate in this situation. Ajax is ithyphallic and his erect penis follows the line of the hilt of his sword. Even their headdress is ridiculous: both wear travesties of helmets, with scarce long hairs sprouting out of the metal. The eyes are drawn in a realistic way, neither exaggerated nor larger than life. The figures are quite different in style from the pygmy representations, which are more carefully drawn. Another episode of the Trojan cycle, the fight between Achilles and Hector in the presence of a wailing and naked Priam, is depicted on a kantharos in Boston.¹⁰⁸ The old man stands before a closed door with his arms extended. The style of the caricature seems careless compared to the earlier examples. The painting itself looks like a rapidly sketched comic cartoon, but the eyes resemble those of the Berlin pygmies.

Peleus, Achilles, and Chiron A kantharos in London¹⁰⁹ shows, from left to right, a centaur carrying a branch over his left shoulder and a knotty stick; an imposing male figure, whose face is caricatured, dressed in a himation and holding a knotty stick in his right hand, is followed by a less caricatured young man holding a smooth stick. This is a parody of Peleus bringing his young son Achilles to be taught by the centaur Chiron, as on numerous 'serious' representations of the myth.¹¹⁰ Their faces are deformed. The

¹⁰⁷ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum, ALG18 (ex-Lucerne Market, ex-collection Ludwig, 32); Webster, *MMC* 2 81, no. BV9. 450–375 BC.

¹⁰⁸ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.532; *KH* 1.37.4. 450–375 BC.

¹⁰⁹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, British Museum, B77; *KH* 1.109M17, pl. 54.3=KH 4.67.399, pl. 23.4. 450–375 BC.

¹¹⁰ See cup, Attic BF, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, 452; (BA 300550), *ABV* 63.6, *Add* 173; Boardman 1991: fig. 40. From Italy, Etruria, Vulci; Heidelberg Painter; 540–530 BC.



Figure 141. Caricatured Odysseus fleeing from Calypso's island on two amphorae floating on the sea. Kabirion skyphos, Boeotian BF, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G249 (V262). 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

centaur's nose is almost animal-like, as well as Peleus's nose and large jutting lips. The forehead and the eyes are human, and caricature here is set between the human and the animal worlds; hence its merit. Animals such as apes are often considered to be the living caricatures of men.¹¹¹ They are also found at the Kabirion.¹¹² In the London parody, the young man is caricatured but not to resemble an animal. If these figures were wearing drama tights or padded satyr trunks and wearing Old Comedy's phalloi, perhaps one could wonder if they were wearing masks. The figures are wearing long himatia; they are neither phallic nor noticeably deformed except for their faces and Peleus's corpulence.

Odysseus At least three vases show a caricatured Odysseus. On a Kabirion skyphos in Oxford (fig. 141),¹¹³ Odysseus (inscribed), holding a trident, runs over the sea on two amphorae. On the far right, the wind Boreas (inscribed), with only his head with puffed cheeks visible, blows towards Odysseus's back. The wind is lifting Odysseus's cloak like a sail. Odysseus's buttocks and belly are grossly deformed and he is running in such a low posture that his flaccid genitals are touching the amphorae. His face is covered in hair. Having drawn with much care this vase, I was able to notice that drawing is schematised but not in a careless manner, exactly how a caricature should be drawn, where every line and detail have their importance.

Odysseus is equally naked and deformed, on the other side of the skyphos, except for a *pilos* covering his head and a cloak on his left arm. He retreats from Kirke who

¹¹¹ Paris, Louvre, G241; London, E307. Rome, Villa Giulia, 64224.

¹¹² Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Mississippi, University of Mississippi, P.116; KH 1.100K20=KH 4.67.402. 450–375 BC.

¹¹³ Oxford, G249.



Figure 142. *Caricatured Odysseus and Kirke*. Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, British Museum, 1893.3-3.1. 450-375 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

is standing in front of a loom, preparing her magical potion, the *kykeon*, which has transformed Odysseus's companions into animals. Turning his face and gaping mouth to the viewer, he has unsheathed his sword. His grotesque appearance and both their faces, with their big bulging eyes, seem to be the work of the same painter or workshop that produced the Berlin pygmies (fig. 139)¹¹⁴ and other non-mythological scenes. The vase-painter gives bulging eyes to all his figures, even to the cranes and the donkey on the Berlin kantharos and to the fish on the Oxford skyphos. A Kabirion kantharos in London (fig. 142)¹¹⁵ also shows, as two other vases,¹¹⁶ the meeting of a caricatured Odysseus and Kirke (name inscribed). The loom this time is behind Odysseus, and the 'hero', naked with drooping buttocks, comes with greedy hands to take the skyphos out of Kirke's hands. She has slight African facial traits, whilst he looks rather shabby with a bushy beard, a large nose, and a ragged *pilos*. Although this painting is a caricature, it is very different in style to that of the Oxford skyphos. The rendering of the eyes can be taken as a sign of differentiation between the artists. There is also a difference in simplicity or clarity. This caricature insists on faces and on Odysseus's hands and his

¹¹⁴ Berlin, 3159.

¹¹⁵ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, British Museum, 1893.3-3.1; KH 1.99K19=KH 4.67.398. 450-375 BC. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹¹⁶ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Nauplion, Archaeological Museum, 144; KH 4.67.405. 450-375 BC. And see Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Mississippi, University of Mississippi, P 116; KH 1.100K20=KH 4.67.402. 450-375 BC.

decrepitude. The lines are thinner and there are many unnecessary details in comparison to the Oxford skyphos, where well-chosen quick incisions suffice to render the body and movement. A humorous visual interpretation of the Cyclops pursuing a caricatured Odysseus is shown on a kantharos in a private collection in London.¹¹⁷ Odysseus is running for shelter towards a tree already occupied by two naked men, probably his sailors, pursued by a gorilla-like monster. Finally, a kantharos in Boston¹¹⁸ has been considered a possible representation of Odysseus's encounter with Kirke. A caricatured female figure seated on a *klismos* eats beside a loom. A man with jutting lips and double chin is stooping on his knotted staff. He is addressing the woman as his mouth is open. Another man, with a crooked nose, stands behind him. Taking into consideration the several depictions of Odysseus at the Kabirion, this woman seated near a large loom, scoffing food in the company of two gesticulating men, is a parody of Penelope 'wooed' by two suitors.

Local Mythology

Kephalos A Boeotian hero is depicted on a kantharos in Athens (fig. 143).¹¹⁹ This caricatured figure, with a round head and a protruding jaw with jutting lips and snub nose, is crowned by a ridiculously small and bent *petasos*. He is naked but for a *chlamys* on his arm, which reveals his huge belly and dangling genitals. His name is inscribed, 'Kephalos', the hunter. His dog, with a similar grotesque appearance, is pursuing a fox. From Apollodoros and others (*Bibl.* 2.4.6-7; Paus. 9.19.1; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 41; Suidas, s.v. 'Teumēsia'; Ov. *Met.* 7.762; Eubulus, *Procris* fr. 89 in Kassel ed.), we know that he had a wonderful dog that was destined to catch whatever it pursued. The most famous story of Kephalos's dog is Amphytryon's hunt of the Teumessian fox, which was ravaging Kadmea. Kreon agreed to help Amphytryon if he got rid of the Teumessian fox. Amphytryon entreated Kephalos to lend him the dog. In our picture, it is Kephalos himself who is hunting, and he could be hunting another fox. The iconography of Kephalos in Athens is very different: the Athenian vase-painters chose to emphasize Eos pursuing young and beautiful Kephalos (Paus. 1.3.1, 3.18.12, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2, 3.14.2), as on a volute-krater in Bologna.¹²⁰ This shows once again that the iconographical tradition in the Kabirion is only vaguely similar and prefers to seek its images in its own folklore. The caricatured face has African facial traits. The rendering of details is vivid but less simplified than the Chiron scene. Kephalos's ugliness is what makes him a parody of the expected beautiful Kephalos loved by Dawn.

¹¹⁷ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, London, Private collection, B. Swannenburg; KH 4.67.401. 450-375 BC.
¹¹⁸ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Boston, Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Art Museum; KH 1.100K21, pl. 27.3=KH 4.65.376. 450-375 BC.

¹¹⁹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BF, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10429; KH 1.98K9, pl. 10.11. 44.4=KH 4.63.303. 450-375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

¹²⁰ Volute-krater, Attic RF, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, PU283; (BA 202962), ARV² 260.8, Add 101, Add² 204; CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.1.8, pls. 55.3, 56.1.2.4. From Italy, Orvieto; Syriskos Painter; 480-460 BC.

of comedy, but he considers that they are the painter's free interpretation or inspiration of a known motif. He adds too that we should not think that the buyers misunderstood the meaning of these pictures, since such vases were bought by people among whom most had seen farces. According to him, nothing prevents us from seeing these pictures as mythological caricatures and interpreting them as samples of coarse Boeotian humour, like the other Kabirion kantharoi. Not only do the figures seem to wear known masks of comedy, but they also wear the costume of comedy with front and back padding and phalloi. Must we look for a lost play that could have been entitled *Kadmos*, or should we draw the conclusion that the painter of this particular vase made fun of a known myth by using the means of caricature used in drama instead of a more *graphic* style of caricature found on most Kabirion kantharoi?

Carnival in a Ritual Space?

Athens, Abusive Cults of Dionysos and Demeter

Although one was expected in society to demonstrate self-control, composure, and to refrain from using abusive language, there were cults that required the loss of self-control and a carnivalesque attitude. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1336b18) writes that it is the domain of some gods and that the law permits scurrility. He is referring to festivals of Dionysos and Demeter. In Attica, there were four main Dionsyiac festivals: the *Rural Dionsyia* in December (*Poseideon*), the *Leaina* in January (*Gamelion*), the *Anthesteria* towards the end of February (*Anthesterion*), and the *City or Great Dionysia* at the end of March or beginning of April (*Elaphebolion*).

Anthesteria

Many caricatures are found at the Kabirion, so it is sometimes difficult to assess what was normality when one focuses only on the caricatured kantharoi. It is sufficient to find examples of well-proportioned bodies and faces, straight noses, and delicate rendering of eyes and hair in other figures to see that caricature was not the norm but an important parallel iconography at the sanctuary. Athenian potters and painters produced special miniature vases called *choes* specifically for the Athenian festival of the *Anthesteria* every year. These vases are mainly found in Attica. Hamilton (1992) explains at length the differences between the two types of *choes*: the large and the miniature (less than 15 cm). The three days of the festival were called: *Pithoigia* (*Plut. Mor.* 655e, 735d), the opening of the wine jars; *Choes* (*Ar. Ach.* 96, 1211), the feast of the wine jugs; and *Chytroi* (*Ar. Ach.* 1076; *Ar. Frogs* 218), the feast of the pots. As far as the *Choes Day* during the *Anthesteria* is concerned, only the miniature *choes* should be taken in consideration. Almost all the *choes* of the *Anthesteria* were found in Athens. They share the same shape, size, and roughly the same iconography, what Hamilton calls the *tableau*. It consists in an ensemble of objects or figures found repeatedly in depictions: a child, a wreath, a

pet, a cake, and so on. The general atmosphere of these choes is fun and joy. Because of their particular shape, size, location, and standardised iconography, they were probably offered as presents at the *Anthesteria*, and all drank from them.

The other very important part of the *Anthesteria* festival was *aischrologia*, 'abuse'. We know that verbal abuse was shouted by riders from wagons as they rushed about the busy streets of Athens. In this context, there probably was also a carrying of a giant phallus, symbol of regeneration if any. Those who pulled the cart and those who were riding the giant member on the cart insulted passers-by. In a similar way to two other festivals of reversal, the *Kronia*, during which slaves shared their master's table and then revelled throughout the streets of Athens shouting abuse at passers-by, and the *Skira*, during which women took charge of the city, during the *Anthesteria*, even slaves are invited to participate. It was a complete social cleansing, whereby every participant felt free of social restrictions and conventions for a limited time. Like parody, all this folly served the purpose of reasserting the model, social conventions, rules, and power structures. Carnival, just like parody in its turn, is only possible if one believes in the conventions beforehand. In a society based on slavery, how do slaves and masters mingle on the same level during a festival? *In vino veritas!* Dionysos, god of ecstasy, has a trick: he requires his followers to drink large quantities of wine.

Theatre

The other sacred Dionysian time in Athens was the Rural, the *Greater Dionysia* and the *Lenaea*. During these times, the god of illusions gives rise to the greatest illusion of all, the theatre. Whether humorous or saddening, its function is cathartic, a cleansing of the social body at large. Large amounts of money were poured into the Athenian festivals for the greater good, with poorer people being paid to come to the theatre. It is one further example of the democratic system at work: laughter and cleansing for all. Bakhtin (1968: 7) writes 'carnival ... does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators ... Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people'.²²

The kantharoi of the Kabirion were specialised ware, like the choes of the *Anthesteria*, they were made for a purpose, where the shape and grape decorations indicate drinking wine. Their representations mock all aspects of everyday life, ritual life, and mythology, as people abused passers-by from the wagons at the *Anthesteria* or in comedies during the *Dionysia*. The representations include all strata of society, from citizens down to slaves, as in many role-reversal festivals in Athens. The whole sanctuary is a celebration of Dionysos. There are few depictions of satyrs at the Kabirion: and one would expect many more servants of Dionysos in a cult celebrated with wine drinking and merry-making. More than a hundred terracotta figurines representing satyrs were found, however, at the sanctuary.

²² For fairly recent research on the links between Bakhtin and the classical world, see von Möllendorff 1995 and Edwards 2002.

It is probable that most inhabitants of the surroundings, from Thebes to Thespia, attended the celebrations. Although the material (clay) of the vases was quite cheap, the stalls, the wine and food, the plays, and the whole infrastructure of the festivities were all rather costly. Maybe the rich paid for the poor, as in Athens. The rectangular buildings at the sanctuary may have been used as sympotic spaces for participants, although the vases were found in various places at the sanctuary and not specifically there. The Kabirion kantharoi were probably made for this occasion. One would have expected to find many more kantharoi or fragments at the Kabirion, but in fact no more have been discovered since the last excavations in the 1960s or reported in subsequent publications.¹²⁴ This makes sense if what we are discussing was an annual carnival. The kantharoi may have been produced on such an occasion. The number of vases brought to light, from an original production of the 450s–300s, could correspond proportionally to the number of vases that would have been produced for an annual feast. These kantharoi were not found in the thousands but in the low hundreds.¹²⁵ We should surmise, here, a popular yet temporary feast in which the world was turned upside-down. It involved wine, disguises, and plenty of laughter. It must have exuded a general atmosphere of good-humour for a short period each year, an institutionalised carnival during which one could mock without distinction the Kabirion worshippers, mythical heroes, and generally speaking any Theban.

Agricultural Gods and Sanctuary

The sanctuary must have held other functions throughout the year. Dionysos is the god of the theatre, of banter, of the anti-Polis, the god of sacred madness, *mania*, but he is also a god of vegetation and fertility. And, just like Demeter, he is connected to agriculture. According to Pausanias (9.25.5–9), the whole sanctuary was dedicated to Demeter Kabeiraia. There are no inscriptions to Demeter, and maybe Pausanias is referring to a nearby sanctuary dedicated to the Great mother, not the Kabirion.¹²⁶ The votive dedications are always to Kabiros and Pais. But the site may have been shared by both deities. After all, even Delphi is shared by Apollo, Dionysos, and Athena! Demeter and her daughter Kore brought wheat to the world. Their cult, the *Thesmophoria*, was celebrated all over Greece. Boeotia was the wheat-producing region par excellence well into the Roman period. The French still say ‘quel Béotien’ (‘what a Boeotian’) when they refer to a ‘simple’ person. They mean a person with coarse needs, manners, and aspirations; a peasant rather than an urbanite citizen. The sanctuary could well be dedicated

¹²⁴ A recent discovery, in 2006, of a sanctuary to Herakles may be the beginning of new discoveries in this region.

¹²⁵ Evidently, further excavations of the site and its surrounding landscape could yield hundreds more.

¹²⁶ There are a few remains, opposite the Kabirion on the other side of the road, of a settlement. This may be part of a town within which was the sanctuary of Demeter Kabeiraia. Pausanias tells us (4.25.4) the sanctuaries of Dionysos and Demeter were within Cadmeia. Although these have not been found as of yet, there is no reason not to believe him as his other description of a sanctuary to Herakles has been found in 2006 exactly in the spot he writes of, the gates of Cadmeia.

to agricultural and pastoral needs: the greatest number of dedications are metal and terracotta bulls. On the Kabirion kantharoi, bulls are found in 'cult scenes', such as the scene with Kabiros (fig. 130)¹²⁷ or the procession to a hermaic pillar.¹²⁸ A man wearing a bull-mask dances on a Kabirion kantharos in Athens.¹²⁹

Interestingly, the little we know of Demeter's festivals, the *Haloa* in January (*Poseidon*), the Eleusinian mysteries in September/October (*Boedromion*), and the *Thesmophoria* and *Stenia* in October (*Pyanopsion*) also include scurrility. We know that on their way to Eleusis from Athens, the initiands had to cross a bridge over the river Kephisos where they were ritually insulted, probably for apotropaic reasons. Diodorus Siculus (5.4.6) writes about the women during the *Thesmophoria* 'it is their custom ... to indulge in coarse language'. The aetiological explanation for this abusive language is in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (203), where Iambe makes the goddess laugh and break her fast. Another interesting fact is that farmers used imprecations and often insulted plants to keep them out of harm's way and to make them grow faster and stronger: it is a type of fertility magic. Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 7.3.3) and Plutarch (*Mor.* 700) discuss this theme with the growth of cumin and Pliny (*HN.* 19.120) with that of basil.¹³⁰

To conclude, one can say that there probably was a yearly carnivalesque festival at the Kabirion, and consequently, this is our first Greek carnival in situ, as well as a Dionysian sanctuary – aside from theatres. The Kabirion and the painted vases, were connected with Dionysian drinking and feasting rather than 'mysterious cults'. Institutionalised humour, bantering, and merry-making were linked to the agrarian cycle, and this was central to the sanctuary's ritual practice all year-round. There may have been other special yearly festivities. The caricatures mock most classes of men, women, slaves, and, common to them all ... their heroes and gods. The clay vases were mass-produced for a specific event where both the commoners and the elite members of society participated. At first glance, one may imagine that the purpose and *dromena*, sacred re-enactment of myth, of the mysteries that took place must have been *arrheta*, unspeakable, because we do not have any written evidence that describes them. Apart from the possibility that there may have been a plenty of written evidence that is now lost, common sense dictates, as in the case of medieval carnival, that because the festival occurred regularly every year, the people who attended them felt no impelling need in transcribing the event unless, of course, something momentous had taken place. Our knowledge, consequently, is almost entirely archaeological. The site requires much greater vertical investigation, but more than anything, it is in crucial need of a horizontal survey through landscape archaeology. This could bring many sought for answers to this fascinating site, where humour was plentiful and a way of life.

¹²⁷ Athens, National Museum, 10466.

¹²⁸ Kassel, T424.

¹²⁹ Kabirion kantharos, Boeotian BE, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 545; KH 1, pl. 32.2. 450–375 BC.

¹³⁰ As both plants are of Indian origin, one must wonder if the imprecatory rituals were also imported from the Indian subcontinent. Also, some theogonies of Dionysos make him come from India.

Conclusion

Vases, Humour, and Society

In this concluding chapter, a number of discussions are regrouped under two main headings. The first is centred on vases, painters, and iconography, and the second on humour and social cohesion. The first discussion is partly based on querying an extensive database of comic vases, which I developed during my doctoral research, from different angles.¹ For example, the comparison between comic scenes depicted in Athenian black-figure to those in Athenian red-figure. Why are some scenes found more often or are rarer than others? Are some painters more interested in painting humorous scenes than others? Which types of vases present the most or least humorous scenes? Is there such a thing as regional humour? Iconography is then discussed, and a justification given for establishing a future theory of visual humour. I shall also briefly discuss what I have coined 'visual immediacy'. The second part contains a series of discussions under the heading of humour and social cohesion. For some time, I had thought that only certain comic categories, such as parody, caricature, and situation comedy, were transposable in time and space from culture-to-culture. But there is at least one other fundamental aspect of humour that seems commonplace among most cultures – and that is the need for humour as a channel for *social cohesion*.

It has been underlined on a number of occasions that humour gives us an insight into ancient Greek life, and that, for better or for worse, what we see is a mirrored vision of society. Let us see, then, in spite of all its distortions and aberrations, what humour reveals.

1. VASES: TECHNIQUES, PAINTERS, AND MUCH MORE

Vase Shapes and Humour

Greek pottery can be divided into four categories (and functions): (a) storage and transport vases; (b) mixing vases; (c) jugs and cups; and (d) smaller containers for oils,

¹ See Chapter 1, 'Methodology in the Study of Comic Pictures' and 'Greek Vases: Connoisseurship, Context, and Chronology' for warnings about statistical analysis, sampling, and methodology.

Table 3. Black-figure shape distribution of comic vases cited in the text

Function	Shapes
Cosmetic	19 lekythoi, 1 pyxis
Transport and storage	28 amphorae, 10 neck-amphorae, 7 hydriae, 3 pelikai
Jugs and cups	13 cups, 10 oinochoai, 5 olpai, 4 skyphoi, 1 chous, 1 psykter, 1 kyathos
Mixing vases	1 volute-krater

Table 4. Red-figure shape distribution of comic vases cited in the text

Function	Shapes
Cosmetic	14 lekythoi, 3 pyxis, 1 alabastron, 1 aryballos
Transport and storage	44 pelikai, 17 amphorae, 14 hydriae, 9 neck-amphorae
Jugs and cups	118 cups, 20 choes, 18 skyphoi, 11 askoi, 6 oinochoai, 5 olpai, 5 mugs, 5 rhyta, 3 psykter, 1 astragalos, 1 kantharos, 1 kyathos
Mixing vases	16 column-kraters, 12 bell-kraters, 11 calyx-kraters, 4 volute-kraters, 5 stamnoi

perfumes, and cosmetics. Table 3 (black-figure) and Table 4 (red-figure) display the number of comic vases in this catalogue by vase shape/function. As far as I know, the vases that never display comic representations are the white-ground lekythoi. This should not come too much as a surprise as they were often intended for funeral context. There were many other objects than vases produced in clay, and among these some were decorated in a similar fashion to vases. For example, the epinetron, with a curved tile shape, was used to work wool. This was also a non-comical vase. Quite clearly, one can conclude from these tables that there are more comic scenes found in the red-figure technique than in the black. Also, most comic vases were produced for the sympotic context. The exceptions are lekythoi, found in greater numbers in both techniques, and amphorae, used as wine containers and sometimes found in the sympotic context. These functions are based on vases shown in use in vase-paintings. What the vases were actually used for is mostly unknown. After all, a red-figure oinochoe might have been used as a piss pot (fig. 10).¹ The interesting aspect here is that although most comic scenes are found on at least 131 cups, many are also found on larger-sized vases, at least sixty-four amphorae, forty-four kraters, as well as at least fifty-one pelikai. Many vases show humour only in part of their decoration, but others use the surprise effect between different sides and force the viewer to turn the vase to understand the joke (figs. 13-14, 26, 29, 32, 61, 97).

¹ Malibu, 86.AE.437.

Table 5. Black- and red-figure types of humour, and number of vases cited in the text

	Black-figure	Red-figure
Visual puns	34	17
Sexual humour	13	22
Gluttony	14	32
Women	5	18
Cowards	14	4
Situation comedy	12	18
Parody	19	37
Caricature	2	41
Satyrs: sexual humour		10
Satyrs: gluttons		8
Satyrs: mock-heroism		29
Satyrs in the Polis		114

Painters and General Themes

Painters in the sixth century BC black-figure technique appear to focus on visual puns, sexual humour, gluttony, situation comedy, and parody (see Table 5). In both gluttony and situation comedy, Herakles comes out most certainly top of the list. He is seen on many vases piling meat on spits or drunk at Syleus's house,³ about to drop the wild boar on Eurystheus who is hiding in a pithos.⁴ There are also a great many comical representations of the *Judgement of Paris*. Many show Paris *running away* from his judgement,⁵ while others are just straight parodies of the scene.⁶ Women are shown gossiping,⁷ are caricatured,⁸ and when sexually assaulted either defend themselves⁹ or invite their pursuer.¹⁰ Painters liked making fun of cowards, whether human (four vases) or mythological (ten vases). Among nineteen parodies, sixteen involve satyrs. The most prolific comic painters (see Table 6A) are Amasis, the Beldam Painter, the C Painter, the Eucharides Painter, the Gela Painter, the Leagros Group, the Group of Walters 48.42, the Nikosthenes Painter, the Sappho Painter, and the Swing Painter.

In the fifth century BC Athenian red-figure technique, the situation is more complex (Tables 5, 6B–C). Some painters are more interested in humour than others: for example, Alkimachos, the Ambrosios Painter, the Berlin Painter, the Painter of Berlin 2268,

³ New York, 41.162.29; London, B473; Berlin, F1919; Lucerne market (A.A.); (BA 361404).

⁴ Syracuse, 21965; Basel, H. Cahn, HC355; Brussels, R293.

⁵ Lille, 765; Paris, Louvre, CA616.

⁶ Tübingen, S101294.

⁷ Thebes, 6151.

⁸ Brussels, R279; Oinochoe, Attic BF, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.924; (BA 330768) ABV 524.1, ABL 260.129 Add. 131; ABFH, fig. 253. Athena Painter; 510–500 BC.

⁹ Brussels, R346.

¹⁰ Berlin, 3228.

Table 6A. Black-figure comic painters¹¹

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Acheloos P.	1	London, W40	
Affecter	1 (see below)	N/A	1/103
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Amasis P.	2	Amherst 1962.74; Boston 10651	2/169
Antimenes P.	20 (see below)	London B266, Adolphseck 3	20/469
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	17	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Athena P.	2	Boston 98.924, Oxford 1965.105	2/439
Class of Athens 581	5 (see below)	Adolphseck 12	5/153
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
Beldam P.	3	Budapest 50.105, Laon 37.898, London B536	3/191
P. of Berlin 1686	4 (see below)	London B177	4/43
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
P. of Boulogne 441	1	Rome, Villa Giulia 50406	1/5
Burgon Group	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
C. P.	3	Lille 763, Paris, Louvre CA616, Vatican 335	3/291
Cactus P.	1	Athens, NM 12821	1/6
P. of Cambridge 61	1	Cambridge GR61.1864	1/2
Campana P.	1	Avignon S64	1/47
Caylus P.	1	Orvieto 2606	1/118
CHC Group	2 (see below)	Athens, NM 1113	2/335
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Cock Group	1	Munich, private (BA 330480)	1/347
Cup Little Master Band	2	Boston, 61.1073	2/21
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
(Akin to) D P.	1	London B342	
Dot-Ivy Group	2	Paris, Louvre F325, Leiden PC9	2/72
Durand P.	2 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	See Table 13	

(continued)

¹¹ NB. Many comic and non-comic scenes have not been attributed to any painters. There are also more comic vases by some of these painters, but they are not in the catalogue. These variables must not be overlooked as they have an important impact on the statistics at hand. This is another reason why these statistics should be used with care and for indicative purposes only. For the vases showing *Herakles and Eurystheus* or the *Return of Hephaistos*, see note on Tables 12 and 13. The "total production" numbers come from the Beazley Archive Database.

Table 6A (continued)

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Group E	3	N/A	3/188
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	See Table 13	
Edinburgh P.	2 (see below)	Münster 726	2/198
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
Elaious P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Elbows Out	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Essen Group	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Eucharides P.	3	Munich 1727, Fiesole (BA 6806), Paris, Louvre CP10740	3/183
The Eye-Siren Group	1	London B215	1/22
Group of Faina	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Gela P.	5 (see below)	Leiden K94.9.20, Athens, NM 541, Münster 784, San Antonio 91.80.1	5/309
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
(manner of) Gorgon P.	1	Buffalo, G600	1/154
Hattai P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Leagros Group	11	Syracuse 21965, Basel HC355, Sydney 46.52, London market (BA 7492)	11/568
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	7	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
Group of Walters 48.42	3	Baltimore 48.42, Dallas 1972.5, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 343	3/35
Haimon P.	1	Munich 2000, 503	1/1632
Half-Palmettes P.	2	Frankfurt B308, Paris, Louvre CP10864	2/76
Hermogenes Potter	1	Paris, Louvre MNC332	1/140
Jena P.	1 (see below)		1/151
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
P. of Jena Kaineus	1	Berkeley, 8.3379	1/2
Keyside Class	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Near Kleimachos Potter	1	Athens, NM 559	1/3

CONCLUSION: VASES, HUMOUR, AND SOCIETY

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Kleitias and Ergotimos	1 (see below)	Florence, 4209	1/33
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Leafless Group	7 (see below)		7/517
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	<i>See Table 12</i>	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	6	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Group of London B265	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Group of London B524	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
P. of London B76	1	Copenhagen 13440	1/44
P. of London B620	1	New York 46.11.7	1/7
P. of Louvre E876	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
P. of Louvre F120	2 (see below)	New York 12.234.4	1/4
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Lydos	4 (see below)	Palermo 1497	4/352
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Lysippides P.	5 (see below)	Munich 1563	4/193
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	2	<i>See Table 12</i>	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Marathon P.	1	Taranto 6261	1/60
Mastos P.	1 (see below)		1/19
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	<i>See Table 12</i>	
Medea Group	1	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
P. of Munich 1379	1	Boston 1979.618	1/6
P. of Munich 1529	1	Munich 1525	1/1
Group of Munich 1501	1 (see below)		1/22
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	<i>See Table 12</i>	
Nikosthenes P.	7	Hamburg 1970.99, Paris, Louvre F121, Malibu 68.AE.19, Athens, Kanellopoulos, Münster 20, Brussels R388, Karlsruhe 64.52	7/219
Oakshott P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Pescia P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Philon P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Priam P.	2 (see below)		2/53

(continued)

Table 6A (continued)

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Psiax	2	Copenhagen 4759, Munich 1984	2/93
Princeton P.	2 (see below)	Brussels R279	2/68
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
Red-line P.	1	New York GR 529	1/210
Sappho P.	5 (see below)	New York 41.162.29, Lucerne market (BA 361404), Athens, NM 516, Tübingen S101294	5/143
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
Seattle Group	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Swan Group	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Swing P.	7 (see below)	Cincinnati 1959.1, London B144, Oxford 1965.117, Basel Z364	7/248
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	2	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Theseus P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Three-Line P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Group of Toronto 303	7 (see below)	London B198, Munich 1522	7/43
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	2	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
Tyrrhenian Group	3 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
P. of Vatican G49	3	Athens, Agora P13245, London B473, Berlin F1919	3/102
Class of Vatican 342	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Group of Würzburg 199	7 (see below)	Munich 1480, London B264	7/51
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	4	See Table 12	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Group of Würzburg 299	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Class of Würzburg 351	1	Basel market (BA 351370)	1/15
Xanthos	1	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Xenokles P.	1	Athens, NM CC691 (1045)	1/33

Table 6B. Red-figure comic painters¹¹

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Abnormal Eye-cups	1	London E6	1/13
Manner of Achilles P.	1	London E307	1/401
Agrigento P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Andokides P.	1	Paris, Louvre F204	1/28
Group of Agora P1073	1	Ruvo 1442	1/3
P. of Agora P2578	1	Athens, Agora P2578	1/3
P. of Athens 1237	1	Leipzig T3589	1/6
Aktorione P.	2	Vienna 1930, Boston 13.82	2/6
Alkimachos P.	3	Paris, Rothschild (BA 206010), Dresden ZV2535, St. Petersburg 734	3/110
Altamura P.	5 (see below)	Berlin 1962.33	5/125
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	4	See Table 13	
Ambrosios P.	3	Hamburg 1962.134, Basel market (Cahn 1995, no. 13), Malibu 86.AE.291	3/59
Ancona P.	1	Basel market (BA 12996)	1/44
Antiphon P.	3	Berlin F2307, Bolligen (BA 275929), Boston 62.613	3/286
Apollodoros	1	Basel K428	1/44
Berlin P.	4 (see below)	Madrid 11117, Corinth C33.210, Paris, Louvre G185	4/414
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
P. of Berlin 2268	4	Berlin F2320, Once Rome market (BA 201447), Basel Kuhn 59, Geneva 1529	4/114
Blenheim P.	1	Boston 00.342	1/9
Near P. of Bologna 228	1	Brussels, Bibl. Royale 11	1/31
P. of Bologna 417	2	Berlin F2517, Vatican 16552	2/259
Boot P.	1	Voronezh 105	1/41
Bordeaux P.	1	Berlin F2523	1/4
Boreas P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Group of Boston 10.190	1	Boston 10.190	1/3
Bowdoin P.	1	New York market (BA 30500)	1/502

(continued)

¹¹ Same as note above: among the comic red-figure scenes about sixty are not attributed to any specific painter or group of painters.

Table 6B (continued)

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Brygos P.	12	Brussels R350, Warsaw (BA 204084), Berlin F2309, Copenhagen 3880, Würzburg L479, Hamm 3690, Moretti (BA 204118), St. Petersburg 679, Vatican 16582, London E65, Thebes R22.8, Malibu S80.AE.277	12/400
Chaire P.	1	Basel BS1423	1/17
Chairippos P.	1	London market (BA 202245)	1/24
Charmides P.	2	London E290, Boston 76.46	2/22
Christie P.	2 (see below)	Basel market (BA 10357)	2/68
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Cl. Class	3	Karlsruhe B1814, Tübingen Z158, Paris, Louvre CA1728	3/64
Class III Palmette Eye cups	1	New York 56.171.61	1/34
Class of Vienna 779	1	London market (BA 340005)	1/3
Group of Class W	1	Ruvo 1408	1/1
Clinic P.	2	Paris, Louvre CA2183, London E66	2/34
Codrus P.	2	Würzburg L491, Ferrara T269	2/92
Coghill P.	1	Lisbon 682	1/4
Colmar P.	3 (see below)	New York market (BA 203757), Athens, NM 2.79, Paris, Petit Palais 367	4/111
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Curtius P.	1	Ferrara 20363	1/103
Deedene P.	3	New York 17.230.37, London E377, London E539	3/53
Dinos P.	3 (see below)	Oxford 1937.983, Vienna 694	3/143
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Dokimasia P.	1	Amherst 1962.74	1/58
Dot-Band Class	1	Munich 1619	1/45
Douris	9 (see below)	Boston 1970.233, Karlsruhe 70.395, Vatican 16561, Boston 00.338, Baltimore G3730, London E768, Berlin Antikensammlung (BA 205057)	9/525
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	See Table 13	
Duomo P.	2 (see below)		
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	See Table 13	
Dutuit P.	1	Paris, Louvre G203	1/28
Dwarf P.	1	Boston 76.45	1/21

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Epeleios P.	5	London E7, Basel market (BA 201392), Basel BS463, Copenhagen 107, Cracow 1259	5/183
Epidromos P.	1	Vienna 3691	1/19
Epiktetos	10	Palermo V653, Paris, Louvre G5, London E38, Rome, Villa Giulia 57912, New York 1981.11.10, Baltimore B3, London E35, Paris, Cab. Méd. 509, London E3	10/175
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Eretria P.	3 (see below)	Malibu S80.AE.34	3/200
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
Euaion P.	1	New York 06.1021.177	1/216
Eucharides P.	3 (see below)	New York market (BA 28056), Oxford 563	3/183
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Euergetes P.	3	London E27, Rome, Villa Giulia 64224, Tübingen S101525	3/235
Euphronios	1	Munich 8935	1/65
Group of Ferrara T981	1	Laon 37.1033	1/20
Filotrano P.	1 (see below)		
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Flying-Angel P.	3	Paris, Petit Palais 307, Italian market (BA 202548), Boston 98.882	3/59
Imitation of Flying-Angel P.	1	London E487	
Foundry P.	2	Cambridge (BA 204353), Boston 13.95	2/84
Geras P.	12	Malibu 86.AE.476, Paris, Cab. Méd. 397, Paris, Louvre G234, Cambridge (M.A.) 1925.30.34, Berlin F2173, Budapest 50.155, Oxford 283, Boston 64.2032, Lausanne 3250, Berkeley 8.4585, Leipzig T643, Copenhagen 99	12/47
Harrow P.	2	Harrow 55, New York 12.229.13	2/136
Hasselmann P.	2	London E819, Baranello 4249	2/80
Hegesiboulos P.	1	New York 07.286.47	1/4
Hephaistos P.	4 (see below)	Basel BS450	4/63
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	3	See Table 13	
Hermaios P.	1	Berlin F2267	1/27
Jena P.	1	London E108	1/151
Kachrylion Potter	1	Florence 4B19	1/34
Kadmos P.	2	Munich 2360, Ruvo 36818	2/68
Kleophon P.	7 (see below)	Munich 2361, San Antonio 86.134.77, Tübingen S101343	7/159

(continued)

Table 6B (continued)

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	5	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Kleophrades P.	6 (see below)	Athens, Agora P2574, Moretti (BA 201679), Leiden PC80, Salerno 1371, Paris, Louvre G162	6/213
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Early Mannerist	4 (see below)	Athens, Agora P8892, Basel BS415	4/118
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Late Mannerist	3 (see below)	Florence V6, Malibu 81.AE.149	3/44
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Leningrad P.	5 (see below)	Bologna 169, Lecce 602, Würzburg ZA20	5/132
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	2	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Lewis P.	3	Switzerland Priv. coll. (BA 275421), Chiusi 1830, Habana R79-1011	3/79
P. of London E342	1	Tübingen S10814	1/94
P. of London E345	1 (see below)		
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
P. of London F64	1	Ruvo 422	1/22
P. of Louvre G238	1	Paris, Louvre G227	1/6
P. of Louvre G265	2	Orvieto 590, Vienna 53a	2/16
Lugano P.	1 (see below)		
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Matsch P.	1	Rome, Villa Giulia 48238	1/9
Meidias P.	2	Athens, NM 1224, Tübingen E114	2/305
P. of Munich 2358	1	Laon 37.1031	1/2
P. of Munich Amphora	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Myson	4 (see below)	Syracuse 20065, Munich 8762, Paris, Louvre CA1947	4/157
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Nekyia P.	1	Vienna 1026	1/3
Nikias P.	2	Paris, Louvre N3408, Gotha 75	2/49
Nikosthenes P.	7	Boston Res.08.30.a, Berlin 1964.4, Cambridge 37.17, Paris, Louvre CP11255, Athens, Agora P9281, Paris, Louvre G92	7/219
Nikoxenos P.	3	Tarquinia 2989, Boston 95.19, Basel market (ARV ² 221.8 bis), Munich 2381	4/59
Niobid P.	1	London E467	1/214
Oedipus P.	2	Vatican H569, Once New York market (BA 205374)	2/7

CONCLUSION: VASES, HUMOUR, AND SOCIETY

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
Oinophile P.	1	London 1922.10-18.1	1/5
Olto	8 (see below)	Munich 2581, Boston 13.83, Rome, Torlonia (BA 200446), London market (BA 352424), Munich 2606, Columbia 75.81, New York L1979.17.1, Paris, Louvre F128	9/214
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
Onesimos	3 (see below)	Paris, Cab. Méd. 848, Brussels A723	3/266
<i>Herakles and Eurystheus</i>	1	See Table 12	
Orchard P.	4	Naples H3369, Dunedin E48.232, Bologna 190, Bologna 241	4/110
Orpheus P.	3 (see below)	Athens, NM 1418, Athens, NM 1167	3/20
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Owl-Skyphoi	1	Paris, Louvre CA2192	1/51
Pan P.	10 (see below)	Berlin 3206, Boston 10.185, Athens, NM 9683, Berlin F4027, Berlin F2172, Berlin 1966.62, Paris, Louvre CP10793, St. Petersburg 627, Paris, Priv. coll. (BA 206350)	10/195
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Pantoxena P.	1	Syracuse 22934	1/4
Pedieus P.	1	Paris, Louvre G14	1/9
Penelope P.	3	Adria, B559, St. Petersburg 834, Berlin F2589	3/45
Penthesilea P.	4 (see below)	Oxford 1943.79, Munich 2591, Berlin market (BA 211713)	4/439
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
P. of Petit Palais 336	1	Paris, Petit Palais 336	1/2
Phiale P.	3	Oxford 1971.866, Naples STG240, Corinth C39.386	3/217
Phintias	2	Malibu 80.AE.31, Munich 2422	2/25
Pioneer Group	1	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Pistoxenos P.	2	Schwerin 708, Würzburg H5387	2/79
Pithos P.	2	Kiel B541, Ferrara 28623	2/110
Polion	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	See Table 13	
Group of Polygnotos	16 (see below)	Erlangen 707, Brussels R302, Naples, Cap. (BA 213747), New York 56.171.52, Warsaw 142355, Tarquinia RC4197, Paris market (BA 213669), Syracuse 24114	16/384

(continued)

Table 6B (continued)

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	10	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Pourtales P.	1 (see below)	N/A	
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Providence P.	2 (see below)	Munich 2335A	2/208
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Psiax	1	Cleveland 76.89	1/93
Richmond P.	1	Munich, Barciss 136	1/10
Scheurleer P.	4	Brussels R259, Paris, Louvre G89, Paris, Louvre G70, Paris, Louvre G73	4/25
Shuvalov P.	3	Rome, Villa Giulia 50511, Athens, NM 1218, Athens, NM 1219	3/132
Skythes	2	Paris, Louvre CA1527, Palermo V651	2/45
Smikros	2	Paris, Louvre G58, Berlin 1966.19	2/12
Sosias P.	1	Berlin F2278	1/4
Sotades P.	2	Paris, Louvre G617, Dresden ZV1827	2/84
Standard Eye-cups	2	Hamburg 1970.99, Boston 08.31d	2/116
Syriskos P.	2	Rome, Villa Giulia 866, Genoa 1150	2/107
Tarquinius P.	1	Copenhagen 598	1/142
P. of Tarquinia 707	1 (see below)		
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Telephos P.	1	Boston 95.28	1/69
Thalia P.	2	Berlin 3251, Vienna 782	2/15
P. of Todi 474	1	Todi, 471	1/7
Triptolemos P.	6	Hamburg 1981.173, Leipzig T513, Edinburgh 1887.213, Oxford 1942.262, Paris, Louvre G241, Munich (BA 203884)	6/145
Trophy P.	1	London E316	1/9
Tyszkiewicz P.	2 (see below)	Parma C3	2/118
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Veii P.	1	Vienna 213	1/152
Villa Giulia P.	3 (see below)	Basel market (Auktion 56.no.105), Vatican 16509	3/174
<i>Return of Hephaistos</i>	1	<i>See Table 13</i>	
Washing P.	6	London E202, Oxford 296, St. Petersburg B1621, Paris, Louvre G549, Zurich market (BA 302), London E387	6/193

Painters	Comic vases	Identity	% Total production
P. of the Woolly satyrs	1	Syracuse 23508	
P. of the Yale Lekythos	2 (see below)	Orvieto 1044	1/18
Return of Hephaistos	1	See Table 13	1/113
P. of the Yale Oinochoe	1	Düsseldorf 1955.1	
Zephyros P.	1	Copenhagen 1943	1/40
			1/7

the Brygos painter, Douris, Epiktetos, the Eucharides Painter, the Geras Painter, the Kleophrades Painter, Nikosthenes, Nikoxenos, Oltos, the Orchard Painter, the Pan Painter, the Group of Polygnotos, and the Washing Painter. Their humour encompasses many different themes, such as gluttony, visual puns, caricature, parodies of citizen's activities, parodies of mythological narratives, satyrs in parodies of citizen's activities, satyrs in parodies of mythological narratives, sexual humour, scatology, Herakles, situation comedy, dwarfs, and pygmies.

Geography of Humour

Can we recognise geographical patterns in the distribution of humour? Is there such a thing as regional humour? Clearly, the representations in Boeotian humour, at least that of the Kabirion, find their equivalent in Athenian humour. The comical techniques are the same, and what is mocked is similar too. The *style* of representation is what varies mostly, that is to say, the context and the local folklore, mythology, and gods. There is probably a greater sense of liveliness in Boeotian caricatures than in comparable Athenian ones, but then of course the scale of the Athenian wares and the far greater numbers in which they were produced allow for much more variety.

Vases, Fashion, and Novelty

Vases were sold on the market-place. And, apart from the larger kraters, they would have been probably affordable by the ordinary man. Why, then, at least from an economic standpoint, would anyone wish to produce a comical vase? The answer probably lies in humankind's need for change, that is, a change in fashion. This point has been made earlier concerning the disappearance of the large eye motif in Greek pottery. Painters had long been anthropomorphising such vase designs but then began to *mock* them by replacing 'noses' between the eyes with dogs or by using satyrs to hold on to the large decorative eye brows, until finally the eyes slowly but surely vanished altogether. It was not because buyers no longer believed in the protection it afforded against the *evil eye*, but most probably because they were bored seeing that particular decoration *ad nauseam*. It was a passing fad, in vogue for a time, only to be replaced by a new fashion. The

Table 6C. Red-figure themes and comic painters

Theme	Painters
Gluttony	Brygos P. (Berlin F2309, Copenhagen 3880, Würzburg L479); Epiktetos (Baltimore E1, London E35); Geras P. (Berlin F2173); P. of Berlin 2268 (Geneva 1529); CL Class (Karlsruhe B1814); Kleophrades P. (Moretti BA 201679).
Visual puns	Ambrosios (Boston 01.8024); Antiphon P. (Berlin F2307); Brygos P. (Hamm 3690, Moretti BA 204118); Epiktetos (Tarquinia RC191, Paris, Louvre G5); Eucharides (New York market BA 28056, Munich 1727, Fiesole, Const. BA 6806); Euergides P. (Tübingen S101525); Manner of the Epeleios P. (London E7); Nikosthenes (Berlin 1964-4, Malibu 68.AE.19, Athens, Kann. BA 3861); Oltos (Munich 2581, Boston Res. 08.31d, Boston 13.83, New York L1979.17.1); Nikoxenos (Tarquinia 2989, Boston 95.19, Basel market ARV ³ 221.8bis); Psiax (Cleveland 76.89); Skythes (Paris, Louvre CA1527); Standard Eye-cups (Hamburg 1970.99); Syriskos P. (Rome, Villa Giulia 866).
Caricature	Brygos P. (St. Petersburg 679); Epiktetos (London E38); Phintias (Malibu 80.AE.31).
City parodies	Brygos P. (Vatican 16582); Epiktetos (Palermo V653, Rome, Villa Giulia 57912, New York 1981.11.10); Eucharides (Oxford 563).
Mock-heroism	Nikosthenes (Boston Res.08.30.a).
Satyrs in city parody	Alkimachos P. (Paris, Rothschild BA 206010, Dresden ZV2535, London E146); Altamura P. (Berlin 1962.33); Berlin P. (Corinth C33.210); Blenheim P. (Boston 00.342); Bordeaux P. (Berlin F2523); Bowdoin P. (New York market BA 30500); Brygos P. (Warsaw BA 204084, Hamm 3690, Thebes R22.8, Malibu S80.AE.277); Charmides P. (Vatican 16545); CL Class (Tübingen Z158); Class of Vienna 779 (London market BA 340005); Deepdene P. (London E377); Douris (London E768); Epiktetos (Columbia 75.81, London E3); Euaion (New York 06.1021.177); Eucharides (Paris, Louvre CP10740); Flying-Angel P. (Italian market BA 202548, London E487); Foundry P. (Boston 13.95); Geras P. (Budapest 50.155, Oxford 283, Boston 64.2032, Lausanne 3250, Berkeley 8.4583, Leipzig T643, Copenhagen 99); Harrow P. (Harrow 55, New York 12.229.13); Jena P. (London E108); Kadmos P. (Ruvo 36818); Kleophon P. (San Antonio 86.134.77, Tübingen S101343); Kleophrades P. (Leiden PC80); Leningrad P. (Lecce 602); Lewis P. (Switzerland priv. coll. BA 275421, Chiuse 1830, Havana R79-1011); Nikosthenes (Cambridge 37.17, Paris, Louvre CP11255, Athens, Agora P9281, Paris, Louvre G92); Nikoxenos (Munich 2381); Oedipus P. (Vatican H569, Once New York market BA 205374); Orchard P. (Bologna 241); Penelope P. (St. Petersburg 834, Berlin F2589); Phiale P. (Naples STG240, Corinth C39.386); Group of Polygnotos (New York 56.171.52, Warsaw 142355, Paris market BA 213669); Scheurleer P. (Paris, Louvre G70); Syriskos P. (Genoa 1150); Washing P. (Zurich market BA 302, London E387).
Satyrs and mock-heroism	Leningrad P. (Berlin F2294); Orchard P. (Otago E48.232, Bologna 190); Penthesilea P. (Munich 2591); Group of Polygnotos (Tarquinia RC4197, Oxford 1927.4, Syracuse 24114).

Theme	Painters
Sexual humour	Ambrosios (Basel market, Cahn, 1995.no.13); Ancona P. (Basel market BA 12996); Apollodoros (Basel K428); Chairippos P. (London market BA 202245); Christie P. (Basel market BA 10357); Dokimasia P. (Amherst 1962.74); Epiktetos (Paris, Louvre G5, New York 1981.11.10); Flying-Angel P. (Paris, Petit Palais 307, Boston 98.882); Nikoxenos P. (Tarquinia 2989); Pan P. (Berlin, 3206, Boston 10.185, Berlin F2172, Berlin 1966.62, Paris, Louvre CP10793, St. Petersburg 627, Paris, priv. coll. BA 206350); P. of Berlin 2268 (Berlin F2320).
Scatology	Epiktetos (Paris, Louvre G5); Ambrosios (Malibu 86.AE.291); Scheurleer P. (Brussels R259).
Herakles	Geras P. (Cambridge M.A. 1925.30.34); Pan P. (Berlin F4027, Athens, NM 9683).
Glutton	Geras P. (Paris, Cab. Méd. 397).
Parody Geras	Geras P. (Paris, Louvre G234); Charmides P. (London E290); Pentesilea P. (Oxford 1943.79).
Eurystheus	Onesimos (London E44).
Situation comedy	Geras P. (Malibu 86.AE.476, Paris, Cab. Méd. 397, Leipzig T643); Kleophrades P. (Salerno 1371, Paris, Louvre G162); Group of Polygnotos (Naples, Capodimonte BA 213747); Washing P. (London E202).
Dwarfs and pygmies	Clinic P. (Paris, Louvre CA2183); Kleophrades P. (Athens, Agora P2574); Group of Polygnotos (Erlangen 707, Brussels R302); Leningrad P. (Bologna 169).

need for change is linked to the need to arrest the viewer's gaze with something different, whether gruesome, sexy, or funny. It has to shock, stimulate, impassionate, titillate, or make the viewer smile. After all, the viewer might become in his turn an eventual buyer. In-depth discussions on fashion and material culture studies lay stress on the hierarchy of fashion,²³ how the lower 'social class', whichever it may be, attempts to imitate that which the richer enjoys. The reasoning of a producer may go something like this: the wealthy drink from cups of gold, so let's produce thousands of vases of the same shape but in clay for the less wealthy. But with the added benefit that the freedom of expression in painted decoration is so much greater in clay than in incised or embossed silver or goldware. And, when it comes to humorous decorations (i.e. self-reflexion with a twist), which might prove to be unpopular and hence unsellable, silversmiths would not have taken a chance on incising a joke in a precious metal, which was too expensive by far to joke with. In contrast, all was possible in clay.

It is not unthinkable that humour, through its surprise effect, could have occasionally replaced 'novelty', and especially so in the painted-vase medium. So many vases were being produced every day for both local and foreign consumption. The vases would be expected to be sold if they intentionally followed a pleasing fashion, were well made,

²³ See D. Miller 1982 and Hegmon 1992.

and were aesthetically appealing or interesting. If, on the other hand, they were coarsely painted or out of fashion, their shape and function would probably not be sufficient to sell them (at least not at the full retail price!). They might have ended up as cheap production for the foreign market or sold at a heavy discount, very much as in today's January or summer sales where one can expect discounts of fifty per cent or more off the normal price. Although I have initially equated comic vase-painted scenes to fashion, such vases are actually a move outside the world of fashion. Fashion changes either subtly or drastically from year to year, whereas humour is erratic by nature and surprises the viewer. 'Mr Everyman' would just love to own a 'traditional' or 'new' art form at home, but he might also hanker after extraordinarily comical ones too, which would always be 'new'. Humour transcends norms and cycles of fashion. In the private sphere, all tastes could be catered for. Every form of sexual act is represented on the vases, and it evidently did not shock all their buyers! It may have even enhanced their allure and hence their desirability, in the same way sex and humour arrest and seduce potential customers in contemporary advertising.

Let us imagine for a moment that a vase, bearing a comic scene, is bought for this reason, and by accident the buyer breaks it at home sometime after purchase. He returns to the potter and asks for the same one. The potter realises that here lies a possibility of repeated business. Let us go still further. Can we not imagine a man going to a workshop and saying something like this: 'I'm throwing a symposium at the weekend, and I'd like each of my guests to have a unique scene on his wine cup'. The numbers of comic vases against the total production of each painter in Tables 6A and 6B show that no painter produced 'only' comic vases, but that many painters produced a few comic vases, and some more than others (Pan Painter, etc.). Clearly, although vases were generally produced for the market-place, some commercial orders must have been issued to the potters. This would imply that some painters specialised in comic pictures, had a line in comic vases, and perhaps even maintained a catalogue of suitable comic designs for potential purchasers to peruse before ordering. After all, clay pottery was cheap to produce and reproduce. Humorous specialisation, although mostly for ritual purposes, was not entirely unknown in Greece. This is was most certainly the case at the Kabirion sanctuary and in Athens with the *Anthesteria* vases. At the end of the day, most vase production was commercial, in the sense that both potters and painters were in a competitive market. They made and decorated vases that would please their customers and would sell well, and if they could have a little fun from time-to-time, so much the better!

Deducing buying patterns or types of buyers from the evidence is tricky. Today's clay mugs vary in shape, price, and subject matter. Different mugs are bought by different people. Which British customers wish to buy a coronation mug of Queen Elizabeth II, or a cartoon mug, a golliwog mug, or an anti-war mug with a clever visual pun? Would these objects be bought by four distinct buyers, or could they all be bought by one or a combination of two or three purchasers? If the mug-painters enjoy a freedom of expression, the buyers enjoy a freedom of purchase. I imagine that the situation was not too dissimilar in ancient Athens.

Iconography

Visual Conventions, Visual Puns, Caricature

To play with decoration or to misuse objects in order to arouse humour is at the heart of visual puns, which by so doing defy or breach visual conventions. In some vase-paintings, the notions of 'within the frame' or 'outside the frame' become unclear or at least impossible to be taken seriously. A visual pun is based on the same principle as the *trompe l'œil*, which, for example, was used *ad nauseam* in the Baroque age on ceilings.¹⁴ Although the principle is the same, the impact on the viewer is not. The Baroque *trompe l'œil* was a sophisticated game that was intended to bring paintings to life. Visual puns in Greek vase-painting were doubtless intended to make the viewer laugh.

To create visual puns,¹⁵ artists had to give enough details for the viewer to identify a scene or recognise a type of decoration (e.g. the masculine eyes on a cup) but, at the same time, add sufficient other details so as to transform it into a comical painting (leaning on eyes, carrying eyes). But why did painters make visual puns? One of the principles of humour is to mock rules and conventions. From this point of view, the Prize Panathenaic amphorae were 'untouchable'¹⁶ but not the pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae. Yet, from a practical viewpoint, vase-painters were probably not intentionally criticising the 'establishment'. Moreover, the fact that vases with visual puns are sometimes found in Etruria does not necessarily imply that there was a particular demand from Etruscans for visual puns. Indeed, a buyer in Italy did not necessarily understand an Athenian joke nor Athenian iconography.

It is much more likely that painters simply amused themselves from time to time without thinking too much about the eventual purchaser or end-user. Painters were flesh and blood human beings, who laughed and joked as any man would. They should not be viewed solely as an abstract concept in the eyes of classicists. Boardman writes: 'they signed their works freely ... threw mottoes and challenges, even let their figures speak in modern cartoon style. 'As never Euphronios' boasts Euthymides', (1987a: 30). Scholars often consider imagination to be trivial. But does it stretch the imagination too far to imagine in late sixth-century Athens, a vase-painter in his workshop in the Potters quarter, sketching his tenth daily eye-cup abruptly deciding to transform facetiously what was intended to be a serious image into a comic one?

As far as caricature is concerned, in Athens as well as in Boeotia, a variety of styles have been noted.¹⁷ This implies that a non-negligible number of painters tried their hand with greater or lesser success at doing caricature such that no one group of artisans can be said to predominate.

¹⁴ On *trompe l'œil* in the Baroque age, see Milman 1983.

¹⁵ On visual puns, see Mitchell 2007.

¹⁶ See Chapter 3, 'Athena and Prize Panathenaic Amphorae'.

¹⁷ See Chapter 5, Section 2.

Visual Immediacy and the Importance of Details

The interest of the hydria with the two women chatting at the fountain (fig. 24)¹⁸ and the pelike with the sleeping guardian (fig. 13),¹⁹ as well as a number of many other comic or serious paintings, are painted in what I will call a *visual immediacy* mode. It is the fact that everything in the picture is happening at the same time and consequently painted in such a way that the viewer must 'read' the picture in an all-encompassing fashion. Rather than the synoptic notion described by Snodgrass, which describes a succession of stories in a narrative all told in one scene, visual immediacy is defined by a number of events happening at the same time in the narrative.²⁰ If someone were to describe the situation, he would have to describe the protagonists, the place, and the actions successively, although they are all happening at the same time. On the hydria in Madrid, there is an immediate impression, as if everything was seen at the same time. On the Munich pelike, if one observed only a part of the picture or glanced one side and then at the other but without creating a mental picture of the whole narrative, the sleeping woman would not be comic. On the hydria in Madrid, the whole narrative is displayed on one side, but if one did not notice the detail of the overflowing hydria, the scene would appear to be quite commonplace. It would remain an odd detail of no particular consequence to the general meaning of the picture.

Details in comic pictures are as important as 'reading' a vase in its totality. Vase-paintings often share similar compositions, and it is often easy to take some explanations for granted and yet to dismiss other more unusual or subtle details because the general meaning is considered to be the 'usual one'. Even after viewing more than eighty vase-paintings of fountain houses, a detail such as the overflowing hydria in Madrid may not be discarded as insignificant and should not be overlooked or ignored. Pictures are structured and work within a strict framework of visual codes. Sometimes, an unusual element, which does not seem at first to fit in the picture, is not the result of a mistake made by the painter or a detail that can be left aside. It may change the eventual interpretation in the most unexpected ways. The importance of unusual details in some pictures, compared to their usual iconography, is crucial for the understanding of parody.

Repetitive Humour, Style, and Hapax

According to Bettelheim (1976),²¹ the reason a child wants to listen over and over again to a specific fairy tale rather than any other is the child needs something embedded in the narrative of the fairy tale, on a mythical or symbolical level, to overcome a personal difficulty. When the obstacle is overcome, the child is 'suddenly' (in our adult eyes) utterly disinterested in the story and wants another.

¹⁸ Madrid, 11117.

¹⁹ Munich, 2347.

²⁰ Snodgrass, A. (1981) *Narrative and Allusion in Archaic Art, the Eleventh J. L. Myres Memorial Lecture*, New College, Oxford: 5.

²¹ Contra, see Dundes 1991.

Is this why we like hearing the same funny story many times over or enjoy watching a comic picture more than once? Is there something embedded in the comic picture that we need on a symbolical level? I have put this argument forward above with the much-represented story of Herakles and the Erymanthian boar. It must have pleased viewers in a bid for social justice and the punishment of a false king.

Here is a joke that will help us understand another side of the problem. Joe goes to jail. He sits in a corner of a meeting room and looks at the other inmates sitting in a circle. One of the men raises a finger and shouts out "Fifty-two!" The whole group roars with laughter. After a while, another inmate says "two hundred and fifty-three!" All the inmates are in hysterics. This goes on for a while, and our baffled Joe turns to an old inmate and asks him what is going on. The old man answers "All these men have been in jail for so long that they know all each other's jokes. So, they have given each joke a number, which avoids having to repeat the whole joke every time." Joe is really impressed and learns a great many jokes from the old inmate. After a few months, he feels confident enough to speak out at one of the meetings. He joins the circle and cries out "twenty-one!" No reaction from the crowd. He decides to give them his favourite joke and shouts out "seventy-nine!" Still no reaction from the crowd. He walks away dispirited from the circle and towards the old inmate. "Why didn't they laugh?" The old inmate answers "It's not just the choice of a joke, Joe, it's how you tell it!"

Similarly, the element of good or appalling performance in art would be in the style of representation. The better the take on a well-known story, the better the comical result. This also means that the element of surprise in these representations is in the unusual style of representation or the choice of representation by a painter of a well-known story.

Some comic representations assembled in the current book are repeated under various guises or with hardly any variations, others are the only known (until further discoveries) occurrences of a comic representation. Clearly, representations of the *Return of Hephaistos*, of Herakles and the Erymanthian boar, of drunks throwing themselves in wine jars, of dwarfish figures and satyrs in a variety of situations, of Herakles because of his brutish appetites, or Hermes for his constant interfering with human affairs are found in greater numbers than other comic representations. The latter occur only two or three times or sometimes just once. Should they be discarded from a scientific statistical point of view? In the history of politics, does one discard the voice of discontent when faced with the official line? No, one studies both voices. In the case of ancient Greece, we know more about the official 'serious' line than humour. So, every scrap of fragmented giggles is useful to us: often one single image will mock an entire range of representations. As I have argued in various parts of this book, many comical representations are meaningful in that they differ in a slight, comical way from hundreds of similar representations. Plato would cringe at this idea, but 'one is many'. Vase-painters who produced comic pictures did not live on the margins of society, as we know that they produce conventional paintings as well. But the marginal comic pictures they produced in parallel to the overwhelming majority of conventional ones is a commentary on mainstream culture and values.

2. HUMOUR AND SOCIAL COHESION

A fundamental aspect of mankind that seems commonplace among most cultures and where humour plays a vital role is its need for social cohesion. In this, I follow Bergson's thesis on the social function of laughter and humour. In a small group, individuals are often mocked so that they revert to the group's socially acceptable behaviour. This produces the desired group cohesion. At a national level, one nation might ridicule another nation – *the foreigners* – so as to reassert or reinforce its own cohesion. People come together to struggle against adversity. The need for cohesion is rooted in the fear of exclusion – of being alone and defenceless – and the dread of the resultant breakdown of society.

Opposites do not Attract

To attain social cohesion and peace, society tends to retain its values unchanged. Interestingly, it is only when a world has become 'global' that society continuously adapts to change. This does not seem to have been a Greek problem from the archaic to the late classical period. It could have been a problem in the ensuing Hellenistic world. The easiest way to achieve social cohesion is to keep things in place, power dynamics, Greek women, slavery, or citizenship. More importantly, it is achieved by excluding the 'other', the foreigner, the deformed, and those who lead an unusual (public) life, those with an 'improper behaviour'.

In most nations, in this case the Greek Polis, cohorts of people are set against each other to reinforce and underpin cohesion in one group. These may be gender oppositions, either for men to feel less threatened by women or for women to better tolerate their overbearing male counterparts. Vase-paintings suggest that men mocked women who chattered away at the fountain place. Why was that? The underlying reason is almost certainly that the fountain place was a 'female space'.²² In the vast majority of cultures all around the globe, it is women who draw and carry the water for the household, not men. This implies that women of the most varied social statuses would gather at the water fountain to socialise, exchange news, and (maybe) complain to each other about their husbands. One might summarise the men's view as 'God knows what they're up to'. Aristophanes, in his play *Thesmophoriazusae*, plays cleverly with this underlying fear. His anti-hero Euripides sends his uncle, in disguise, to the women-only assembly of the Thesmophoria to find out if the women want his death or not. There are two other comic *topoi* concerning women in Aristophanes: wives drink on the sly,²³ and they spend comparatively more time with their lovers than with their own husbands. Euripides never found that out. Nor how a wife contrived to smuggle out her frightened lover, holding up her shawl to the sun's rays for her husband to admire. Nor how we grant our

²² On women mocked on vases, see Chapter 2, Section 3.

²³ We have seen earlier how, on Malibu, S80.AE.304, a wife is shown drinking furtively on her way to her husband's banquet on a large skyphos (fig. 26).

favours to bargees and muleteers, if no one else we've got ... Nor how, arising from a night's debauch, we chew our garlic, that our husbands, coming back from the Walls at daybreak, may suspect nothing amiss at home' (*Ar. Thesm.* 491–6 transl. Rogers). The scene (fig. 100),²⁴ which shows a satyr in 'sheep's clothing' wooing a woman, is probably a parody of a lusty lover. The woman is neither fleeing nor cowering, like wives often do in iconography. Rather, she has stood up from her chair to greet him and especially to receive his gift of a perfume box. Two women are pursued at a fountain place on a vase in Berlin.²⁵ While one woman runs away from the naked man, the other, sitting on the ground, could either be begging to be left alone or not. Some women are clearly not welcoming men's advances: on a hydria in Brussels,²⁶ a man has grabbed a woman's breast at the fountain, but the woman slaps him on the wrist.

Another opposition between the sexes is the use of the word *courage*, *andreia* in Greek. The word is constructed from the word for man, *aner*, *andros*. There are a number of scenes that show men dressed as women and even wearing their typical headdress, the *sakkos*. On a scene attributed to Epiktetos,²⁷ a group of warriors is running. One of them is clearly wearing a *sakkos*. This may mean that he is not acting with manliness, *andreia*, but that he is acting like a woman, that is, with cowardice. None of this should come as a big surprise, as Athenians seem to be obsessed with keeping women in their segregated place. Witness the numerous representations of *Amazonomachies*, Greeks fighting Amazons on vases, sarcophagi, and temples! They must have been a Greek man's nightmare and fantasy, as they are the only empowered women in ancient Greek mythology.

Different age groups are also pitted against each other. Earlier it was explained how death was feared because of the bleak Greek view of the afterlife, compared to later Christianity, Islam, and some saviour mystery cults, where the afterlife promised so much more than the here and now. Thus, although elderly people were respected for their power, wealth, and wisdom, they were at the same time ridiculed because of their closeness to an approaching and inexorable demise. This explains why Herakles, a symbol of youthful power at its very height, is seen clobbering Geras, the personification of old age, on at least five separate vases.²⁸ The reason for this black-type of humour seems to be a reaction to the inescapability of death. This is the root of the Greek obsession with youth and beautiful bodies, both male and female. The fear of disease, disability, and especially deformity produces yet another type of warped humour – caricature and mockery of dwarfs, especially in the face of beautiful youth. Athletes are made fun of in numerous ways, but by far the funniest are the dwarfish, grotesquely caricatured athletes seen on a Kabirion vase (fig. 131).²⁹

Most Greeks seemed to fear or at least have contempt for the 'other'.³⁰ Thales thanked the gods for making him a Greek and not a foreigner (*Diog. Laert.* 1.33). No need to seek

²⁴ Habana, R79–1011.

²⁵ Berlin, 3228.

²⁶ Brussels, R346.

²⁷ Palermo, V653.

²⁸ Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 12; Oxford, 1943.79; Rome, Villa Giulia, 48238; London, E290; Paris, Louvre, G234.

²⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3179.

³⁰ For general studies on both shame-culture and the 'other', see Dodds (1951) and Cohen (2000).

for fantastical monsters or mythical Amazons, African slaves and foreigners amply sufficed. Africans were mocked in scenes between Herakles and the Egyptian king Busiris,³¹ where all his servants had African features. In Greek caricature, African facial traits were often used in conjunction with dwarfism to emphasise the contrast with normally proportioned Greek men and women with Caucasian facial traits.³² This cruel mockery, which is prevalent in many scenes at the Kabirion sanctuary, really is laughter out of ignorance. If beauty is represented by tall men, with strong limbs, prominent noses, and straight hair, well then, small men with bandy legs, snub noses, and curly hair will be ridiculous and ugly in comparison. Here, I am alluding to ethnicity and, more to the point, to ethnic jokes, which a number of scholars explain clearly, in so far as they are rooted in the fear of the 'other' and his perceived difference.³³ Most humans need to walk at the same pace and need to share the same habits. Ethnic jokes are lobbed at other nations or populations to comfort a majority (or for that matter a minority) race. The *Philogelos* made fun of Abderites, Kymeans, and Sidonians (Andreassi 2004: 51–4), but the 'foreigner' *par excellence* was of course the Persian.³⁴ The cup in Basel (fig. 31)³⁵ and the Eurymedon jug (fig. 32)³⁶ reveal painters' enjoyment in mocking Persian fighters by portraying them as incompetent drunks, debilitated or effeminate men. To show them as effeminate men is tantamount to calling them cowards. The reason for mocking Persians is based on the fact that Athens constructed its sense of self through its opposition to the 'despotic' East, in opposition to the Persians. Athens saw itself as a beacon of light, of freedom and democracy in the face of the huge and barbaric Persian Empire.

Battling with the Gods and Social Justice

The struggle with authority begins with the gods. What makes human beings closer to immortality is lineage – a pedigree or ancestry through which they can live for ever in the physical and psychological memory of generations. The most tragic struggle against the rule of the gods remains that of Tantalus. When Tantalus serves up his own son as a carved-up food offering to the gods he has invited to his table, he is showing them up at their own game. He is a human rebel at his best. On the lighter, more human side, nothing is better than ridiculing the gods by bringing them down to the level of ordinary men and women to curb the fear of the unknown, and of the unimaginable power of the supernatural. When something that is feared by all is mocked in an acceptable manner, that is, one that will not provoke a political calamity, no one group should feel left out or insulted. As mere mortals, we can all laugh together, the powerful and the powerless.

³¹ London, E370; Cincinnati, 1959.1; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 9683.

³² See Chapter 5, 'Slavery and African Facial Traits'.

³³ On this huge subject, see Bluestein 1981; Boskin and Dorinson 1985; Bourhis et al. 1977; Burma 1946; C. Davies 1982, 1998; M. I. Davies 1990; Ehrlich 1979; Husband 1988; Nilsen 1983, 1993; and Zener 1970.

³⁴ See M. C. Miller 1991 and 2000.

³⁵ Basel, BS1423.

³⁶ Hamburg, 1981.173.

Aphrodite is mocked in a number of scenes, where she is shown about to beat her son Eros with a sandal (fig. 106),³⁷ and in the *Judgement of Paris*, which is often parodied.³⁸ Apollo is mocked when Hermes gets the better of him, after having stolen his cattle and hidden it in a cave (fig. 61).³⁹ Athena, the tutelary goddess of Athens, is made fun of on many vases decorated in the guise of Panathenaic Prize amphorae⁴⁰ but also through her totemic bird, the owl, as on a mug in Paris (fig. 60).⁴¹

Dionysos is mocked in a number of ways in his epiphany as a child with a beard;⁴² when parodying a 'torch' race with satyrs in place of athletes (fig. 94),⁴³ or in many representations of the god and his servants, the satyrs, in typical urban settings.⁴⁴ Among these, note the hilarious scene (fig. 108)⁴⁵ in which he beats his satyr-'servant' with a sandal because the creature (with its tail between its legs, in a dog fashion) has dropped and smashed a vase full of wine. In another scene,⁴⁶ a satyr cannot control his frenzied taste for wine, and so with great stealth he pulls a wineskin from under his master, reclining at a banquet.

Hephaistos is mocked in many scenes that show him returning to Olympus totally drunk.⁴⁷ The story has many interesting aspects, such as the introduction of Dionysos, a new god, to the Olympus, but what is interesting here is the fact that Hephaistos is behaving as the eternal comic archetype: an incapacitated and inebriated god being 'taken for a ride'. This is a case of the trickster being tricked. Hephaistos tricked his mother and was tricked by Dionysos.

We also find caricatures (fig. 48)⁴⁸ and some visual puns of Nike,⁴⁹ the personification of victory; some scenes of situation comedy where Poseidon⁵⁰ or Prometheus⁵¹ fight off satyrs.

But Hermes walks off with first prize as the most mocked god of the Pantheon. The reason for this is probably his function as a go-between, as a messenger of the greater gods. He is also a *psychopompos*: he guides human souls to the underworld. He does not figure among the greatest or most powerful gods, which is maybe why he lends himself

³⁷ Tübingen, E114.

³⁸ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 2510; Oxford, 563 and Tübingen, St01294.

³⁹ Paris, Louvre, E702.

⁴⁰ London, B144; Oxford, 1965.117; Fiesole, Costantini, A; Basel market; *MuM* 1956, Auction sale 16, p. 33, no. 129; London, B198; Boston, 95.19; Baltimore, CVA, USA 6, Baltimore 2, pl. 24. 1a-b; Basel market; *ARV* 221.8bis, 1636.

⁴¹ Paris, Louvre, CA2192.

⁴² Basel, BS415.

⁴³ Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1962.33.

⁴⁴ Florence, V6; Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.149; London market, Sotheby's; (BA 46952); Rome, Villa Giulia, 50511; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1218; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1219; Würzburg, L491; Tarquinia, RC4197; Leipzig, T643.

⁴⁵ New York, 56.171.52.

⁴⁶ Ruvo, 1442.

⁴⁷ On Hephaistos's Return, see Chapter 3, 'Another Tricked Trickster: the Return of Drunk Hephaistos to Olympus'. On Xanthippe, see Chapter 1.

⁴⁸ Paris, Louvre, N3408. See also Ruvo, 422.

⁴⁹ Rome, Villa Giulia, 866.

⁵⁰ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12596; Vatican City, 9103.

⁵¹ Oxford, 1957.983; Gotha, 75; Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1167.

more to comedy, whether as the object of mockery or as its agent. It may also be because he is so much closer to humans than other gods. The scenes in which he runs after Paris, who, terrified at the prospect of judging goddesses, is fleeing from him⁵² and is brought back to the three goddesses firmly held by the wrist, are hilarious. Hermes is shown as a thief not only in his childhood scenes⁵³ but is also shown as an adult stealing perfume bottles.⁵⁴ He is often seen: reclining on a ram;⁵⁵ in visual puns, such as leaning over a *caduceus* elongated to the length of a cane;⁵⁶ playing games, such as spinning tops;⁵⁷ and even in a parody of a cult to Demeter (fig. 62),⁵⁸ he is seen bringing a dog disguised as a pig to an altar. Finally, in an exceptional vase-painting,⁵⁹ a satyr is shown dressed in Hermes' clothes, shoes, hat, and even carrying his *caduceus*, with other satyrs, which are playing and performing acrobatics and even balancing cups on their erect penises. In the light of the many scenes where satyrs steal Herakles' clothes and weapons, one can easily imagine that this satyr must have stolen Hermes' outfit during his sleep.

Interestingly, his pillars, the so-called Hermaic pillars, are also the object of numerous visual puns,⁶⁰ with satyrs parodying citizens worshipping the pillars (fig. 93)⁶¹ or carrying them away,⁶² or being so jealous of their erections that are so much bigger than their own, they attack the pillar with an axe.⁶³ Obviously, statues with no limbs but an erect penis are an easy target for phallic jokes! Herm processions are also mocked in Boeotian paintings.⁶⁴ There have been numerous interpretations of the mutilation-of-the-herms affair that took place in 415 BC (Osborne 1985; Keuls 1993: 387–92). In fact, we do not know who the perpetrators were or the actual reasons for their action, but the outcry of the Athenian people was loud and unanimous according to Thucydides (6.27). In all probability, it was only the herms' faces that were mutilated, as Thucydides uses the term '*ta prosopa*' ('the faces'). Even the famous passage in Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1093–4) does not state that herms were actually castrated but that the ithyphallic Laconian ambassadors as well as the Athenian officials bore a strong resemblance to the herms and so could have been attacked by herm mutilators in error. This scandal in turn tells us that herms were of no mean importance for Athenians in everyday life. In this context, to mock or destroy them in vase-painting scenes seems almost sacrilegious. The painters may, therefore, have used satyrs – amusing yet mythological characters – to mock the herms. It should not be forgotten that vase-painters themselves were not prominent

⁵² Copenhagen, 13440; Paris, Louvre, CA616; Palermo, 1497; Tübingen, S101294.

⁵³ New York, GR529; Paris, Louvre, E702; Vatican City, 16582.

⁵⁴ Lecce, 629.

⁵⁵ Paris, Louvre, G185; Sarasota, 1600.G5.

⁵⁶ Paris, Private collection; (BA 206350).

⁵⁷ Tübingen, S10814; Baltimore, G5730.

⁵⁸ Vienna, 3691.

⁵⁹ London, E768.

⁶⁰ Boston, 10.185; Berlin, 1966.62; Paris, Louvre, F325; Paris, Louvre, CP10793.

⁶¹ Dresden, ZV2535; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, HR85; Warsaw, 142355.

⁶² Copenhagen, 598.

⁶³ Oinochoe, Attic BF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1928; Bérard 1966: pl. 23.1. Chous, Attic RF, Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1962.33; (BA 275288), ARV² 1660.71bis, *Pura* 394, *Add.* 265; LIMC III, s.v. 'Dionysos' 831. Altamura Painter; 480–450 BC.

⁶⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 426. Kassel, T424.

figures in Athenian society and, as such, could probably get away with painting unpredictable and almost certainly irreverent scenes. In contrast to these 'acceptable jesters', such disrespectful behaviour by more noteworthy citizens would almost certainly have been resulted in dire consequences for the perpetrators.

The female counterpart to Hermes is Iris, the female messenger of the gods. That was her primary function, and she was thus even easier to mock than Hermes. She is usually shown in the very act of being assaulted by oversexed satyrs.⁶⁵ Only on one vase (fig. 64)⁶⁶ is she shown pursuing voraciously a young hunter (she's dropped her *caduceus* in her haste).

It is a 'paradox of parody' that, simply by subverting the rules of decoration, the vase-painters could re-assert and reinforce once again all the visual and social values that they were in fact mocking. It is as though one was sawing off the very branch on which one was sitting. On the one hand, we find that most societal aspects were fair game to be ridiculed, yet, in a peculiar way, the very act of mocking somehow reinforced the traditional functioning of authority within a tightly regulated society.

Mocking gods was one thing, but making fun of kings and powerful men was a way for the less fortunate to bear the weight of political powerlessness. A favourite scene in Greek art, painting, and even monumental sculpture was that of Herakles returning to King Eurystheus with the wild boar, alive!⁶⁷ It must have been a firm favourite with the people because it is not often that one gets a chance to laugh at seeing a king hiding in a jar. In many respects, Eurystheus was a bad king and not least because he was in power fraudulently. People laughed at the story because underlying these comic archetypes is the need for social justice, as in Protagoras's myth (Pl. *Prt.* 322cd): 'Am I to place among men right and respect in this way also or deal them out to all?' 'To all' replied Zeus; 'let all have their share'. We could almost imagine the train of thoughts of a viewer: 'Ha! Eurystheus gets what he deserves: Herakles did fulfil his task victoriously after all'. The crux of the matter and the source of the urge for natural justice is not only the fact that Eurystheus was not a legitimate king, in the strictly juridical sense, and more to the point, Eurystheus did not *behave* like a king.

Overcoming Taboos

In most societies people do not act in the same fashion in public as they do in private. We know from the textual evidence that *sophrosynē*, that is to say composure, was an important, even vital, part of one's behaviour in Greek public life. The concept of *honour* and its antonym, *shame*, held a central role in Greek society and its values, so much so that we can say that the Greeks lived their lives within a shame-culture. Dodds (1951: 18) writes of a shame-culture, 'anything which exposes a man to the contempt or ridicule of his fellows, which causes him to 'lose face', is felt as unbearable'. But would a few jokes on vase-paintings shame-face such high-minded citizens? Probably not, but they

⁶⁵ Boston, Res. 08.30.2; Basel market; (BA 12996); Munich, 2591; London, E65; Berlin market (Once); (BA 211713).

⁶⁶ Neck-amphora, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 1, 'Situation Comedy' and Chapter 3, 'Eurystheus and the Erymanthian Boar'.

might just help point the way to how painters mocked the all-too-usual social constraints from within a safe environment, that is, in a *representation* of reality. Similarly, when one watches a play, one does not jump onto the theatre stage and begin hurling insults back at the actors! The spectator of a play and the viewer of a painted vase are both engaged and disengaged at one and the same time. During a sacred festival such as carnival, when everyone mocks and is mocked, honour must take second place under these circumstances – one cannot kill oneself like Ajax, nor take revenge on the 'other'. Mockery is the normality! Bakhtin (1968: 11) writes that carnival 'is not an individual reaction to some isolated comic event'. The oddity about most comic vases is that they were produced in different techniques on all sorts of shapes for the market and not for a special festival. The situation is different for the small choes specially produced for the *Anthesteria* in Athens and the kantharoi produced for the Kabirion near Thebes. In both cases, the choes and the kantharoi are only found in Athens and at the Kabirion sanctuary.

The line between public and private matters is blurred by humour. Humour takes pleasure in the public exposure of all that is hidden. While this was possible to do in public in the realm of comedy at the *Dionysia* or *Lenaea* because it took place during a sacred time outside the usual boundaries of social life, during a 'normal' period of the year this might have been inconceivable. Could not the vase-paintings have played a similar role during this normal time? Is this why they display the same types of humour as in Old Comedy or sometimes even coarser? The realm of sexuality is a private one, and although this may not be true in all societies, it most assuredly was in the Greek world. If one skims through anthropological surveys across the world, each one includes certain aspects of humour. And of all the different types of humour found, *sexual humour* is usually the most pervasive because it is the perfect exposure of what is hidden. There is a voyeuristic and sadistic element to this type of humour. The person made fun of is sexually humiliated by being revealed publicly – the pleasure is for the voyeur alone or, in our case, the viewer.

Playing with Taboos: Who are the Satyrs?

Satyrs turn the iconographical world upside-down. In this book alone, they do so on more than 200 vases. What exactly is the specific function played by satyrs in Greek humour? How different is humour with and without satyrs? While humour is possible without the satyrs, it is much easier to produce with them. Satyrs really are comic *per se*. Satyrs in the black-figure technique are shown in comic scenes from daily life, including scatology, gluttony, unbridled sexuality, parodying most aspects of a citizen's daily life and most values dear to the Greeks (Table 7). They are also used by the vase-painters to corrupt numerous mythological scenes (Table 8). In a memorable carnivalesque scene,⁶⁸ three satyrs are shown running while carrying mules upside-down on their backs. In more than 171 red-figure comic scenes, satyrs are used for every possible purpose, in daily life and mythology. They are masters of exaggeration in all things: if men sometimes drink too much, satyrs drink pure unmixed wine to their heart's con-

⁶⁸ Paris, Louvre, CA1730.

Table 7. Black-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of everyday life in the city

Theme	Catalogue #
Scatology	Taranto 52290
Gluttony	Leiden K94.9.20
Unbridled sexuality	Buffalo G600, Athens, NM 541
Zoophilia	Munich 1952, Munich 1525
Pretending to be warriors	Florence 4B48
Pretending to be athletes	Munich 1983
Pretending to be oil merchants	Paris, Louvre CP10740
Parodying the iconography of Panathenaic prize amphorae	Leiden PC9
Mocking <i>Poliadic</i> sacrifice	Paris, Louvre CP10864
Destroying a hermaic pillar	Berlin 1928
Showing their backside to Dionysos and Ariadne	Würzburg (Phineus cup)
Visual puns: they play with the decoration of vases	London B264, London B266, Copenhagen 4759, Adolphseck 3, Brussels R388, Orvieto 2606

Table 8. Black-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of canonical mythological scenes

Theme	Catalogue #
They steal weapons from Herakles	Brussels A1312, Montpellier 836.4.339
A satyr steals a wineskin from Dionysos	Oxford 1965.105
Satyr as Hermes, in Judgement of Paris	Tübinger 5101294

tent; if men woo women, satyrs are permanently in erection and ready to pounce on any woman, maenad, man, satyr, animal, or even wine containers. In the red-figure technique, satyrs are shown in many more scenes from everyday life than in the black-figure technique (Table 9). In mythological scenes, they pester gods, steal Herakles' weapons, and impersonate an amazing array of heroes (Table 10).

Visual parody is a game and, as such, does not harm its original and serious model. When satyrs are substituted for heroes or gods, the latter are not really taken as the objects of fun. Rather it is the satyr who is ridiculed. To parody a model is often a way to pay homage to it. While there is always a certain temptation to seek explanations in literature that could unravel the oddity of certain pictures, such pictures can be satisfactorily explained, more often than not, through parody and most importantly through comparison with other pictures. Although parodies exist without the inclusion of satyrs, they seem to have been the painters' prime and preferred choice in parody and other kinds of humour. The centrality of the satyr in this context is not difficult to understand. As farcical mythological characters, satyrs do things that men could never do. As iconographical figures they play with pictures, but, being almost human, they also resemble

Table 9. Red-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of everyday life in the city

Theme	Catalogue #
Sarcophagi	Basel, K438, Amsterdam 3217
Libation	- Sometimes jumping head first in kraters (Karlsruhe B1814, Kiel B541, Ferrara 28623)
	- Desperately looking into an amphora for any remaining wine (Basel B5415, London E35)
	- One inebriated satyr has the facial features of a human drunkard (Warsaw 198897)
	- A satyr is shown fighting to the end to protect his three amphorae from an approaching satyr (St. Petersburg 834)
Every sexual scene	- Parodies of usual lovers of women (Habana R79-1011)
	- Parodying the <i>erastes-eromenos</i> relationship (St. Petersburg 734, Paris, Rothschild BA 206010)
	- Reversed <i>erastes-eromenos</i> where a youth offers a hare to a satyr (Leiden PC80)
	- About to rape women at a fountain (Berlin 3228)
Mocking civic activities	
Athletics	(Berlin 190233, Corinth C43.210, Malibu S80, AE.277, Athens, NM BA 2671, Boston, 00.342, Orvieto 1044)
Symposium games	Knucklebones (Zürich market BA 302)
Games	Merry-go-round with a potter's wheel (London E387)
	Swinging (Berlin F2589)
	<i>Asklepias</i> on the seat (Paris, Louvre G92)
	<i>Ephebtismos</i> (Copenhagen 99, London F467)
Bystanders in a himation	(Laon 37.1033, Switzerland, priv. coll. BA 275421, Chiusi 1830, Seves 217, Basel market, Auction 56, no. 108, Naples ST2240, New York 56.171.52, San Antonio 86.134.77, Munich, Bariss 136, Vienna 1026, Ruvo 1442, London market BA 340005, London E315, Budapest 50.155, Oxford 283, Orvieto E48.232, London E332, Paris, Rothschild BA 206010, Vienna 152)
Crator	With a huge erection (Genoa 1150)
Noble riding knights	(Munich 2606)
Hunters	Dressed up as a hero with a club about to massacre a fox whose foot is caught in a trap (Oxford 539), or pulling a fox by the tail (Paris, Louvre C636)
Warriors	Wielding shields (Berlin 1966.19, Munich, BA 203884; Florence 4B48, Avignon 564, Athens, Agora P2578, Paris, Louvre C589, Harrow 55, Brussels, Bibl. Royale 11), or deadly weapons such as phallus-lances! (Düsseldorf 1955-1, Thebes, R228, Paris, Louvre CP11255, Once Rome market BA 201447, Italian market BA 202548, Boston 13.952; using wenskins as shields in an ambush (Paris, Louvre CA3456) or drinking on 'duty' (Providence 25.073, Athens, Agora P2851)
	The world of the banquet is mixed with war as satyrs go to war using maenads as horses in a symposiastic context.

Theme	Catalogue #
Poliadic cult	Satyr performing a sacrifice at an altar (Berlin F2525), hermaic pillar worship (Warsaw 142355, Copenhagen 598, Syracuse 22934), even destroying some hermaic pillars, probably by jealousy because the statue had a bigger phallus (Lausanne 3250, Paris, Louvre CA1947).
Mocking Dionysian ritual	Satyr performing the <i>sparagmos</i> of a wineskin (Leipzig T3589). There are countless visual puns with satyrs playing with the very fabric of imagery, the visual conventions of ancient Greek painting (Berlin 1964.4, Florence, 4B19, Berlin 3251).
Sculptor	With a column between his legs! (Boston, 62.613)
Wine makers	Treading in wine containers not treading grapes (Lecce 602)
Servants	Washing up (Berkeley 8.4583), cooking (New York 06.1021.177), picking up caskets (Once New York market BA 205374). Usually found buried head first in caskets (BA 20361), or about to drop a vase in the presence of Dionysos (Florence V6) or having dropped it and beaten up by Dionysos with a sandal (Leipzig T643, Berlin priv. coll. BA 2725). One satyr somehow finds himself in the women's quarters (Tübingen Z158) and another dresses up as women (New York market BA 30500).

Table 10. Red-figure vases with satyrs in parodies of mythological scenes

Theme	Catalogue #
They pester gods	Caltanissetta 20371, Oxford 1937.983, Gotha 75
Steal Herakles' weapons	Munich 2360, Padula TxLii CR.V, Salerno 1371, Vatican 16509, Ferrara T269
Impersonating heroes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generic heroes: (Munich 2335A) - Herakles at the Garden of the Hesperides and wine jugs! (London E539) - Pelias in a failed rejuvenation scene (Ancona 3198[105]) - Menelaus dropping his wine horn as he runs after Helen (Basel BS450, Basel market BA 10357) - Old papposilenoi as the wise old Thebans listening to the Sphinx (Würzburg ZA20) - Oedipus facing the sphinx (Malibu S80.AE.34) - Satyrs try to rape the goddess Iris in many scenes (Boston Res.08.30.a, Basel market BA 12996, Munich 2591, London E65, Berlin market BA 211713)

man in many ways and act out man's fantasies. On the other hand, they must endure the many foibles they have been given, such as boastfulness and cowardice. Men laugh *at* them rather than *with* them. They are used in the parody of the Polis to debase much of human activity, but, at the same time, they do not fundamentally disturb the social order.

As Lissarrague writes: 'the function of satyrs in images is to invert or deform the rules of culture ... Through play as an experimentation of the world, one can trace in negative a reassertion of human norms and values' (1993: 220).

Who are the satyrs? Are they just the frenzied and comical followers of Dionysos? Are they a male fantasy? Let us describe them again: half beast, half men, they have dark skin, coarse desires and manners, and are often compared to slaves because of their lowly status, and the fact that they often masturbate as they cannot afford or are not allowed to have a sexual partner.⁶⁶ In a recent article, Hedreen (2006: 283) writes: 'the squatting posture taken by the silens so often in scenes of their self-enjoyment is also the posture most often taken by slaves or labourers'. It is the last word that I want to focus on: labourers. Satyrs are often shown sitting on their haunches.⁶⁷ In India, labourers and many ordinary people sit on their haunches: it is a comfortable position (for whoever is used to it from childhood), which one can remain in for long periods of time; it is designed for people who either do not use chairs or cannot afford them; finally, it avoids getting piles, which one would get sitting too long on the ground. It is a labourer's favourite position when at rest. There is nothing childish or 'animal like' about this position as many scholars seem to think when confronted by satyrs sitting on their haunches.⁶⁸ Satyrs are not the only hairy and dark-skinned creatures in ancient Greece: labourers who toiled under the Greek sun were probably as dark and thick skinned as satyrs. The earliest representation of satyrs is on the François Vase,⁶⁹ which is conventionally dated to 570–560 BC. This is a period of turmoil, following the agricultural revolution of Solon and the beginnings of Peisistratos's rise to power.⁷⁰ In order to gain power, Peisistratos mounted the labourers against the contemporary aristocracy. He used a number of political tricks to accomplish this, some of which are described by Herodotus (1.59). Suddenly, the countryside enters the City. The coarse labourers meet the City's urbanite (including artisans). Two centuries later, Plato writes that excess, disorder, the absence of control, obscenity, or disharmony, in whatever form, disrupt social norms. The people who belong to these categories are the peasants, the slaves, the entertainers, the madmen, and the children. They belong to the world of 'ugliness'. They represent a threat to the order and harmony of the City. Maybe vase-painters represented this sudden afflux of coarse, dark-skinned, and poor labourers, devoid of any manners, as satyrs. In a primordial sense, satyrs are a source of fertility, and through Dionysos, god of vegetation and agriculture, are linked to the land. Maybe they worked the land and were literally a source of fertility. In any case, this would be a typical case of laughter of superiority, of smug artisans looking down on labourers, just as aristocrats look down on artisans, whom they probably found crude themselves. The identity of satyrs depends on context. Although I enjoy the image of the Nietzschean satyr, of his satyr as a sacred embodiment of the pulsions of life, I have seldom come across

⁶⁶ See *Ar. Clouds* 734, *Ar. Frogs* 542–5; see Lissarrague 1990a: 57 and Hedreen 2006: 282. I am grateful to Guy Hedreen for sharing his thoughts on the subject of satyrs and labourers.

⁶⁷ Oxford, 330.

⁶⁸ In contrast, when they are shown on all fours, they do resemble children on Anthesteria choes and animals.

⁶⁹ Florence, 4209.

⁷⁰ For recent work on the art under Peisistratos, see Angiolillo 1997.

'Nietzsche's satyr' in Greek representations. The satyr is both a mythological figure in its own right, a follower of Dionysos, and is a vehicle of male sexual fantasy and humour.

Positive Carnival: Enjoying Life

I have discussed and alluded to carnival and its theory in various places in this book.²⁴ Carnival is a double-edged sword. It can act as an emotional release, which some call *positive carnival*, or as a way of keeping or putting people in their place, the so-called *negative carnival*. The carnival was a sacred time. In a number of ways, it is similar to the theatre. It is alive but, at the same time, outside of life. But in opposition to the theatre, which is a representation of life, carnival turns life 'inside out'. In carnival, obscenity is linked to fertility, the human body, and the land, and all opposing ideas are merged, such as the profane and the sacred, the hidden and the revealed. Hierarchies are toppled or at least inverted. During the carnival, everything that concerns social habits, constructs, relationships between specific people during 'normal' life is now out of place. It is during this strange period called carnival that most cultures acknowledge a cult of renewal: humour is used in its primordial fashion as a form of joy, where death is followed by rebirth and life. In the Roman era, humour was an important element during funerals, with people able to show their emotions openly even in funerary processions. Another important aspect of carnival that should not be overlooked was its universality. It was not only a popular time but of universal appeal to all, both in place and time – from the carnivalesque celebrations in Greece and the feasts of Demeter and Dionysos to the Roman celebrations of *Saturnalia* and *Lupercalia*.

In this 'relief' or 'release' carnival, people enjoyed laughing at their favourite characters. In the Greek world, this would certainly include Herakles, who was larger than life in every possible way. He is shown in typical carnivalesque attitudes such as gluttony, drunkenness, and situation comedy based on well-known narratives (Tables 11 and 12). Oddly enough, two Herakles series are not only found on vases but also on temples. Herakles meets Eurystheus in a sculpted metope of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, and Herakles captures the Kerkopes brothers on a metope at Temple C in Selinus. The scenes are comical, and yet they are found in sacred contexts. As a consequence, we may have to rethink or at least reassess our ideas about the use of humour in non-carnivalesque sacred space, or consider that the images, however comic, have taken on a superior meaning that supersedes the humorous aspect. In the case of Herakles and Eurystheus, this is a representation of an inverted power dynamic by Herakles, son of Zeus, on the Temple of Zeus.

Although, in general, opposites do not attract, sometimes the impact of positive carnival can be so great that opposites attract after all. C. P. Wilson (1979: 212), discussing institutionalised humour in an anthropological study of *joking relationships*, writes that it 'eases the structural strains within a society by promoting friendship between potentially separate and antagonistic groups'. So, what was the carnivalesque? In Europe, it

²⁴ See especially Chapter 5, Section 2 on the Kabirion sanctuary in Boeotia.

Table 11. Herakles in humorous scenes

Theme	Catalogue #
Glutton	Piling meat on spits on many vases (Paris, Louvre F121, New York 41.162.29, Athens, Agora P13245, London B473, Berlin F1919, Gotha Ahv.44, Berlin F1856, London E66; London, Victoria & Albert Museum 1776-1919, London F99)
Drunkard	- At Pholos's (London B536) - Carrying or running with amphorae (Cambridge MA. 1925.30.34, Berlin F4027) - Drunk in Syleus's vineyards (Lucerne market BA 361404), at Nereus's (Munich 8762) - Trying to grab Dionysos's kantharos (London E66) - So drunk that satyrs steal his weapons (Munich 2360, Padula TxLii CR., Salerno 1371, Vatican 16509, Ferrara T269)

Table 12. Herakles bringing the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus⁷¹

Technique	Quantity of vases
Black-figure	67
Red-figure	5

Table 13. Return of Hephaistos drunk to the Olympus⁷²

Technique	Quantity of vases
Black-figure	89 (26 non-attributed to specific painters)
Red-figure	63 (5 non-attributed to specific painters)

celebrates the 'comic' end to winter where in a pre-industrial time, winter was always the season of death. It is, as well, a time of rebirth, the renewal of nature. The negative aspects were burnt in effigy, a doll representing Winter or the Old (year). During carnival, every type of humour was employed in order to bring down the barriers of social hierarchy so that the people could feel part of a collective and cohesive *populus*. In this sense, it builds onto the earlier discussions about private and public taboos. People will enjoy

⁷¹ Most of these figures are not in this book's catalogue as I made the choice of showing a sample of heads of series rather than entire series. The numbers are pulled from my general database. I have all together seventy-two representations on vases of Herakles bringing the wild boar alive to Eurystheus. Those vases (among which thirty-nine neck-amphorae) that have been attributed to painters I have added to Tables 6A and 6B.

⁷² Same as note above. Over 150 vases display this scene in black- and in red-figure.

temporarily a complete reversal of usual values. This brings people together by helping them laugh at what hurts, at what is difficult to endure, at what usually remains hidden, and above all at helping them confront their inmost fears. Alternatively, some consider that this relief-valve function is a disguised form of social evasion, where the participants are simply evading reality. In the same way, we often use humour as a coping mechanism to avoid confronting the harshness of constantly living with reality.

Negative Carnival: A Social Censure

It has already been said that carnival is a time for the temporary reversal of social norms. Here, 'temporary' is the keyword: after the carnival period ends, everything normally falls back into its rightful order. Bergson's social theory explains much of this. The laughter of superiority is essentially a social laugh of the collective against the individual. One cannot easily laugh alone: a joke needs an echo and it also needs a victim! To be ridiculed in a society where shame-culture is the norm is a form of punishment, which helps thrust the *unusual* back towards the *usual*, in other words, the heterodox is driven into the ranks of the orthodox. The victim can literally be anyone. He may be a coward or a boastful man full of *hybris* or a haughty man or a wretched, ugly, deformed man. In short, anyone who stands out from the crowd. The theatre, with all its subtleties, had become in the democratic context a formidable instrument for the enforcement of popular culture. Could vase-painting play the same role? Probably not, but they do help reveal the norms, who was mocked, and the social power games at work. It was a society that moved back and forth between freedom and hierarchy. We must be heedful not to confuse *democratic* freedom (as opposed to totalitarianism) with *social* freedom, which concerns the plight of women, foreign workers, and slaves.

Freedom of Expression and Democracy

Moses Finley (1976: 8) wrote that 'modern discussions of the subject of Greek freedom are too narrowly, too obsessively, concerned with political rights and with negative freedoms'.⁷⁷ Hopefully, our discussions on ancient visual humour have balanced his assertion. It is unlikely that so many and varied comic representations could have been produced under other circumstances than in democratic Athens. It is unlikely to be tolerated in a 'totalitarian' regime or simply a more militaristic one such as Sparta, where power and obedience take precedence. One does not find the type of humour found on Greek vases in Mesopotamian pottery, nor much in the way of cylinder-seals. The rule of a god-like

⁷⁷ See Raaflaub, Ober, and Wallace (2007) for a recent assessment of old debates on the origins of democracy in ancient Greece, and the use of the word *demokratia* itself, which seems to have been coined in the 460s. Yet the *demos* had been empowered for decades before. Even though Aristotle used the word in an anachronistic way when discussing the period of the great legislators, from Solon to Cleisthenes, there were suitable foundations for the building of democracy.

military king would not offer much scope for freedom of expression and especially not the type of unruliness that humour thrives on. In such a context, humour is usually considered as subversive by the regime in power and is invariably crushed. There is some humour in the *Gilgamesh Epic*⁷⁸ but hardly any in the associated visual representations. The Egyptians also tolerated visual humour but only to a limited extent on perishable papyri or on *ostraka*, *sherds* (ancient pottery rejects). Conversely, there is much humour in Latin literature as well as in Latin inscriptions; a personal favourite of the author being one inscribed on the tombstone of a manager of a troupe of actors from Siscia (ex-Yugoslavia), which states: 'I've died many times, but never like this' (*CIL* 3.3980). Some visual humour can be found in a variety of media in Roman iconography, but in comparison to the space given to humour in Greece, it seems to be yet again another Greek or Athenian exception. Can we conclude then that it must be a by-product of democracy? Comic vases are already found in the first half of the sixth century BC, when Athenians at large were probably already empowered individuals rather than subjects of a ruler. But most comic representations were produced in the red-figure technique, during the golden age of Athenian Democracy, in the fifth century BC.⁷⁹

We have already discussed briefly the role of ugly Thersites and Hephaistos in their role as social jesters and comic-relief specialists in the *Iliad*, especially during times of extreme tension. But Thersites is interesting for another reason. He is a lowly, old, and deformed sailor of lower-class extraction, and yet here he is, speaking out his mind in front of the entire army by poking fun at the military goals of the king of kings, Agamemnon. The men laugh at his tirades – maybe they are laughing in anticipation of his beating, which is bound to come. When it finally and inevitably happens, they all roar with laughter. This, in a certain way, reminds us of the scene on an amphora showing the courteous confrontation of Herakles and Geras (fig. 54)⁸⁰ with the inscription 'You will cry' coming from Herakles' lips. From other vase-representations, we know that Herakles will soon give Geras a sound beating. All Thersites was trying to do was what fifth-century BC Athenians practised later on: *parrhēsia*. In other words, 'say all'. In the time of Homer, a period of kings and aristocrats, there was no place for a dissident, even an ugly fool like Thersites who is beaten up for his belated and ultimately unsuccessful attempt at free speech.⁸¹ In the democratic age, one could more or less say anything. But did that mean one could say 'anything anywhere'? And if not, in which context? The context of *parrhēsia* is public life because little hindrance was or could be made on free speech in private life and specifically at the political Assembly. The concept of *parrhēsia* was probably formed by aristocrats during the tyranny of Peisistratos in the sixth century BC when they could not speak freely, having been temporarily disempowered. Even

⁷⁸ See, for example, D'Agostino 2000.

⁷⁹ See McGlew (2002) for recent work on the much-debated links between Old Comedy and democracy. In his book, he considers that Old Comedy is not only a source of knowledge for scholars to understand aspects of democracy but was a debating platform, which had a real impact on collective notions of citizenship and democracy. In his view, citizens were on stage.

⁸⁰ Rome, Villa Giulia, 48238.

⁸¹ There is a huge literature on fools, tricksters, and ritual clowns. Here are a few references. Auda 1989; Babcock 1975; Beecher 1987; Billington 1984; Grottanelli 1983; Guenther 1999; Hynes and Doty 1993; Janik 1998; Jung 1956, 1959; Kerényi 1956; Mason 1998; P. L. Wilson 1991; and Wright 1994.

by the fifth century, *parrhēsia* concerned, for the most part, political speeches given in public. Orators at the Assembly probably enjoyed a measure of free speech under the generally accepted rules of moral conduct in the public arena (as opposed to the private) based on the diktats of a shame-culture.

Sommerstein (Sluiter and Rosen 2004: 167) gives little credence to the notion of the temporary reversal of norms, and regards the humour displayed at the comic Dionysian competitions as a 'general cultural understanding'. As we do not know of any comparable comic competitions in other non-democratic cities, there must have been a popular and common understanding of humour in Athens. But this freedom of expression did not mean that absolutely anything could be said or done in public. And this is probably why the plays were so outrageous, as they mocked and revealed so much of what was usually private and hidden from the public gaze, oratory, and conversation.

In a similar fashion, Aesop, in the sixth century BC, used animals to speak on his behalf in his famous *Fables*. Much later, Jean de Lafontaine (1621–95), in his own *Fables*, used animals to mock and reveal the true nature of the royal court of Louis XIV and even the Sun-King himself, showing him as a powerful yet dim-witted lion in some early fables and as an aged and beaten-up lion in later fables. Humour can reveal not only what is rude to speak of in public but also what is forbidden to speak of in plain terms. Humour is often used as a means of by-passing restrictions and circumventing censorship. Often it is the only successful tool available to assist subversive forces because humour cannot be restricted to one category or one level of understanding.⁸² While there were numerous forms of control in the Athenian democratic society, our vase-painters could still get away with mocking everything that was dear to Athenians. It was a misdemeanour rather than a criminal offence.

⁸² Recent events in Denmark (2006–7) have shown both the potency of visual humour and how the limits of freedom of expression can be tested in twenty-first century European democracies: see Mitchell 2007: 1.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Copyright, 1930, by American Medical Association. All rights reserved. Reproduction of this journal in whole or in part without permission is prohibited. Printed at the Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. Printed and Published for the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars Per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents. Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid. Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter. Postpaid. Paid for postage by addressee. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes in this journal to THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

Glossary

Vase shape	Function
Pelike	Water container
Cup	Wine drinking vessel
Krater	Large bowls used for mixing undiluted wine and water in specific proportions
Lekythos	Wine/oil container (with a white-ground: oil, usually for funerary rituals)
Stamnos	Wine container
Hydria	Water container: often used to transport water
Oinochoe	Wine jug with a trilobed mouth
Olpe	Wine jug
Chous	Small wine jug
Askos	Tiny wine drinking vessel
Amphora	Large container for grain, wine, oil, or water; <i>Neck-Amphora</i> : amphora with a neck between the mouth and shoulder; <i>Nikosthenic Amphora</i> : specific shape, often signed by potter Nikosthenes; <i>Prize Panathenaic Amphora</i> : specific shape, offered at the Athenian Panathenaic Games as a victory gift.
Alabastron	Oil flask or perfume vase
Aryballos	Oil flask
Astragalos	Knuckle-bone-shaped vase
Kantharos	Wine drinking vessel
Lebes	Mixing bowl (lebes gamikos: 'for marriage')
Pykter	Wine-cooler: filled with icy-cold water, placed, floating, in a krater
Pyxis	Small box for jewels, or perfume flasks
Rhyton	A clay wine horn, but it can take various animal or objects shapes

GLOSSARY

PARTS OF THE VASE

Part of the vase	Definition
Mouth	Top opening of the vase
Lip	Upper rim of the vase
Neck	Space between mouth and shoulder
Shoulder	Space between neck or mouth and the body
Body	Main space between the shoulder and the foot
Foot	The resting element of the vase
Tondo	Circular painted space inside a cup

PAINTING TECHNIQUES

Technique	Definition
Black-figure	Figures and other decoration were applied with a slip that turned black during the firing process in the kiln, while the background colour remained the same as the original colour of the clay. Vase-painters distinguished individual forms by incising the slip or by adding white and purple paint (pigment and liquid clay).
Red-figure	In contrast to the above technique, the decoration remained the colour of the clay; the background, filled in with a slip, turned black. Figures were then painted in with dilute washes or lines of glaze.

GREEK AND TECHNICAL TERMS

Term	Definition/Translation
Agōn	Competition
Aiōra	Swing
Aischrologia	Abuse
Amazonomachy	Fight between the Amazons and the Lapiths
Anodos	Divine figure emerging from the underworld
Anthesteria	Three day Dionysian Festival: <i>E Pithoigia</i> (the opening of the wine jars); <i>Oi Choes</i> (the feast of the cups); and <i>Oi Chytroi</i> (the feast of the vases)
Apotropaic	Which averts evil (e.g. the evil eye)
Arete	Virtue
Askoliasmos	Game whereby one tries to keep one's balance on a greased inflated wineskin
Astragalos	Knucklebone

Term	Definition/Translation
Aulētēs	Double-pipes player
Aulos	Double-pipes
Caduceus (or Kerykeion)	Herald or messenger's staff, also used by Hermes
Chitōn	Man's short chitōn (tunic), women's long chitōn (usually female undergarment)
Chlamys	Garment, made of leather, worn by hunters over one arm
(ta) dromena	Mystery rites
Ephedrīzō	Piggy-back game where the <i>loser</i> carries the winner
Erastes	In a couple: the lover (usually older)
Eromenos	In a couple: the loved one (usually younger)
Gelōtopoios	An entertainer (also called <i>bāmolochos</i>)
Gigantomachy	Fight between the gods and the giants
Gynaceum	Women's quarters in a house
Hetaira	High-class prostitute
Halteres	Weights used in the long jump
Hapax	Something that only occurs once
Hippalektryon	Fantastical creature, half-horse, half-rooster
Himation	Mantle, coat
Hoplitodromos	Sportive event; running in arms
Hoplon	A large shield used in battle by <i>hoplites</i>
Ilioupersis	The sack of Troy
Infibulated	See <i>kynodesmos</i>
Kalathos	Wool basket, usually in <i>gynaceum</i> scenes
Kibisis	Perseus's magic bag to carry the Gorgon's head
Kōmos	Origin of the symposium: festive dancing and wine-drinking
Kleptein	'To steal'; also 'to rape' (Henderson 1973: 156)
Klinē	Bed
Klismos	Chair often found in the <i>gynaceum</i>
Kunes trapezēes	Table dogs
Kynodesme	String ('dog leash') used to tether the <i>akroposthion</i> (prepuce). Often confused with infibulation, whereby the prepuce is surgically pierced to insert a metal clasp (<i>fibula</i>) to fasten the prepuce shut.
Machaira	Butcher's knife; large blade with a distinctive curve
Magiros	Butcher or sacrificer
Oikodesponai	Mistress of the house
Palestra	Exercise grounds
Palladion	The sacred image of Athena in the city of Troy
Parochos	The groom's friend in a wedding procession

(continued)

GLOSSARY

Term	Definition/Translation
Petastos	Large brimmed hat, worn by travellers, hunters, and especially by the god Hermes
Pilos	Cone-shaped hat, often worn by sailors like Odysseus or smithies like the god Hephaistos
Pornē	Low-class prostitute; street-walker
Rhyton	Drinking horn
Ripsaspis	To discard one's shield in battle
Sakkos	Hair net or headdress usually worn by the 'respectable wife' or the <i>hetaira</i>
Salpinx	War trumpet
Sophrosynē	Ethical and moral correctness, composure
Strigil	Curved metal object for scraping dirt off the body after exercising
Symposium	'To drink together'; a banquet or drinking party
Technē	Art (artisan's work), <i>œuvre d'art</i> (artist): both require a specialist's knowledge
Thyrsos	Bacchants and Dionysos's magical staff
To geloion	That which arouses laughter
Tympanon	Drum

Bibliography

- Adkin, N. (1987). "The Fathers on Laughter". *Orpheus* 6: 149-52.
- Agard, W. R. (1923). "Greek Humor in Vase Paintings". *Classical Journal* 19.2: 97-105.
- Amyx, D. A. (1945). "A New Pelike by the Geras Painter". *American Journal of Archaeology* 49: 508-18.
- Anderson, M. J. (1997). *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andreassi, M. (2004). *Le Facezie del Philogelos. Barzellette Antiche e Umorismo Moderno*. Lecce: Pensa Multimedia Editore.
- Angiolillo, S. (1997). *Arte e Cultura nell'Atene di Pisistrato e dei Pisistratidi: Ο ΕΠΙ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ*. *Bibliotheca Archeologica* 4. Bari: Edipuglia Bari.
- Apte, M. L. (1983). "Humor Research, Methodology, and Theory in Anthropology", in *Handbook of Humor Research*. J. McGhee (ed.). New York: Springer-Verlag 1: 183-212.
- (1985). *Humor and Laughter: An Anthropological Approach*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1988). "Disciplinary Boundaries in Humorology: An Anthropologist's Ruminations". *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 1(1): 5-25.
- Armitage, P. L. (1994). "Unwelcome Companions, Ancient Rats Reviewed". *Antiquity* 68: 231-40.
- Arnould, D. (1990). *Le Rire et les Larmes dans la Littérature Grecque d'Homère à Platon*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Attardo, S. (1994). *Linguistic Theories of Humor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- (1997). "The Semantic Foundations of Cognitive Theories of Humor". *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 10(4): 395-420.
- Auda, V. (1989). "The Court Fool or Jester: A Historic Background". *Cynos [France]* 5: 23-6.
- Babcock, B. A. (1975). "'A Tolerated Margin of Mess': The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered". *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 9: 147-86.
- Bakhtin, M. (1968). *Rabelais and His World* (trans. from *Tvorchestvo Fransua Rable* by Helene Iswolsky). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Baldwin, B. (1983). *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.

- Ballabriga, A. (1981). "Le Malheur des Nains. Quelques Aspects du Combat des Grues contre les Pygmées dans la Littérature Grecque". *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 81: 57-74.
- Basso, E. B. (1988). "The Trickster's Scattered Self". *Anthropological Linguistics* 30.3-4: 292-318.
- Baudelaire, C. (1857). *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Paris: A. Poulet Malassis.
- (1860). "De l'Essence du Rire et Généralement du Comique dans les Arts Plastiques", in *Oeuvres Complètes*. Y. Le Dantec (ed.). Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.
- Beazley, J. D. (1939). "Prometheus Fire-lighter". *American Journal of Archaeology* 43: 628-9.
- (1943). "Panathenaica". *American Journal of Archaeology* 47: 441-65.
- (1949-51). "Geras". *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 24-6: 18-20.
- (1951). *The Development of Attic Black-figure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1956). *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1963a). *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1963b). "Herakles Derubato". *Apollo (Salerno)* 3-4: 3-14.
- (1967). *Attic Red Figured Vases in American Museums*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Beazley, J. D. and Caskey, L. D. (1954). *Attic Vase-paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*. Boston, London: Publication for the Museum of Fine Arts by Oxford University Press.
- Beccatti, G. (1953). "La Leggenda di Dedalo". *AM* 60: 22-36.
- Beck, F. A. G. (1975). *Album of Greek Education: the Greeks at School and at Play*. Sydney: Cheiron Press.
- Beecher, D. (1987). "Intriguers and Trickster: The Manifestations of an Archetype in the Comedy of the Renaissance". *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 61.1: 5-29.
- Bélis, A. (1992). "L'Aulète et le Jeu de l'Oie". *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 2(116): 497-500.
- Benton, J. R. (2004). *Medieval Mischief, Wit and Humour in the Art of the Middle Ages*. London: Sutton Publishing.
- Bentz, M. (1998). *Panathenäische Preisamphoren: eine Athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6. -4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde Antiker Kunst.
- Bérard, C. (1966). "Une Nouvelle Péliké du Peintre de Geras". *Antike Kunst* 9: 93-100.
- (1983). "Le Corps Bestial (les Métamorphoses de l'Homme Idéal au Siècle de Périclès)", in *Le Corps et ses Fictions*. C. Reichler (ed.). Paris: Editions de Minuit: 43-54.
- (1984). "Le Jeu du Satyre", in *La Cité des Images: Religion et Société en Grèce Antique*. Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Lausanne, Centre de Recherches Comparées sur les Sociétés Anciennes. Paris: E. Nathan: 127-46.
- Bérard, C. and Bron, C. (1991). "Dionysos le Masque Impossible", in *Dionysos: Mito e mistero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3-5 novembre 1989*. F. Berti and C. Gasparri (eds.). Ferrara.
- Bérard, C. and Durand, J.-L. (1984). "Entrer en Imagerie", in *La Cité des Images: Religion et Société en Grèce Antique*. C. Bérard and J.-P. Vernant (eds.). Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Lausanne, Centre de Recherches Comparées sur les Sociétés Anciennes. Paris: E. Nathan: 19-31.
- Bérard, C. and Vernant, J.-P. (eds.) (1984). *La Cité des Images: Religion et Société en Grèce Antique*. Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Lausanne, Centre de Recherches Comparées sur les Sociétés Anciennes. Paris: F. Nathan.

- Bergson, H. (1905). *Le Rire, Essai sur la Signification du Comique*. Paris: Alcan.
 (1921). *Laughter, An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*. London: The Macmillan Company.
- Bernard, A. (1991). *Sorcières Grecs*. Paris: Hachette.
- Bernstein, M. A. (1983). "When the Carnival Turns Bitter: Preliminary Reflections upon the Abject Hero". *Critical Inquiry* 10(2): 283-305.
- Berthiaume, G. (1982). *Les Rôles du Mageiros, Etude sur la Boucherie, la Cuisine et le Sacrifice dans la Grèce Ancienne* (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 70). Leiden: Brill.
- Bettelheim, B. (1976). *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*. New York: Knopf.
- Bieber, M. (1961). *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Billington, S. (1984). *A Social History of the Fool*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Binsfeld, W. (1956). *Grylloi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antiken Karikatur*. Dissertation Faculty of Philosophy of Cologne.
- Bishop, C. and Osthelder, X. (eds.) (2001). *Sexualia. From Prehistory to Cyberspace*. Cologne: Konemann.
- Bloesch, H. (1940). *Formen Attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des Strengen Stils*. Bern: Benteli.
- Blondel, E. (1988). *Le Risible et le Dérisoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Bluestein, G. (1981). "It Only Hurts When We Laugh: Ethnic Jokes and the International Theme". *Thalia: Studies in Literary Humor* 4.1: 10-13.
- Blandell, S. (1995). *Women in Ancient Greece*. London: British Museum Press.
- Boardman, J. (1976). "A Curious Eye Cup". *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 281-90.
 (1986). "Herakles in Extremis", in *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei, Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern: 127-32.
 (1987a). *Athenian Red Figure Vases Handbook, The Archaic Period*. London: Thames & Hudson.
 (1987b). "Silver is White". *Revue Archéologique* 279-95.
 (1988a). "Trade in Greek Decorated Pottery". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7: 27-33.
 (1988b). "The Trade Figures". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7: 371-3.
 (1989). *Athenian Red Figure Vases Handbook, the Classical Period*. London: Thames & Hudson.
 (1991). *Athenian Black Figure Vases Handbook*. London: Thames & Hudson.
 (1992). "The Phallos-bird in Archaic and Classical Greek Art". *Revue Archéologique* 2: [227]-42.
 (1998). *Early Greek Vase Painting, 11th-6th Centuries B.C., A Handbook*. London: Thames & Hudson.
 (1999). *The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade*. 4th edn. London: Thames & Hudson.
 (2000, 2006). *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Boardman, J. and Kurtz, D. (1971). *Greek Burial Customs (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life)*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Bochlan, J. (1900). "Die Ionische Augenschalen". *AM* 25: 40-99.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Böhr, E. (1982). *Der Schaukelmaler. Forschungen zur Antiken Keramik*, 2nd series, *Keramens* 4. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Boskin, J. and Dorinson, J. (1985). "Ethnic Humor: Subversion and Survival". *American Quarterly* 37.1: 81-97.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Gedfield, N. J., Giles, H., and Tajfel, H. (1977). "Context and Ethnic Humour in Intergroup Relations", in *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*. A. Chapman and H. Foot (eds.). NY: Pergamon: 261-6.
- Bowie, A. M. (1993). *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Breitholtz, L. (1960). *Die Dorische Farce im Griechische Mutterland vor dem 5. Jahrhundert: Hypothese oder Realität?* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Bremmer, J. (1997a). "Jokes, Jokers and Jokebooks in Ancient Greek Culture", in *A Cultural History of Humour, From Antiquity to the Present Day*. J. Bremmer, (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (ed.) (1997b). *A Cultural History of Humour from Antiquity to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brommer, F. (1937). "Die Rückführung des Hephaistos". *JDI* 52: 198-219.
- (1959). *Satyrspiele. Bilder griechischer Vasen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bron, C. (1984). "Porteurs de Thyrsos ou Bacchants?" *Actes du Colloque International de Lausanne*, 8-11 fév. 1984, *Image et Société en Grèce Ancienne Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande* 36: 145-53.
- (1988). "Le Lieu du Komos", in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery Copenhagen* 31.8.-4.9.87. J. Christiansen and T. Melander. Copenhagen: 71-9.
- (1992). *Diomysos, Mythes et Mystères, Vases de Spina, Catalogue de l'Exposition du 17/10/1991 au 5/1/92 au Musée Historique de l'Ancien Evêché de Lausanne*. Kilchberg.
- Brown, C. G. (1989). "Ares, Aphrodite and the Laughter of the Gods". *Phoenix* 43: 238-93.
- Brownlee, A. B. (1989). "A Black-figure Parody of the Ransome of Hector". *Revue Archéologique* 3-21.
- Bruneau, P. (1970). *Recherches sur les Cultes de Délos à l'Époque Hellénistique et à l'Époque Impériale. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 217. Paris: Edition de Boccard.
- Brünner-Traut, E. (1956). *Die Altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- (1970). *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- (1979). *Egyptian Artists' Sketches, Figured Ostraka from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
- Burford, A. (1985). *Künstler und Handwerker in Griechenland und Rom*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Burkert, W. (1996). *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*. London: Blackwell Publishing.
- Burma, J. H. (1946). "Humor as a Technique in Race Conflict". *American Sociological Review* 11.6: 710-15.

- Büschow, E. (1943). *Satyrtänze und Frühes Drama*. Munich: Verlag d. Akademie der Wissenschaft.
- Büsing, H. (1993). "Das 'Attische Saltz'. Humor auf Vasenbildern". *Antiken Welt* 24: 335-46.
- Callahan, T. (1991). "Devil, Trickster, and Fool". *Mythlore* 17-4: 29-34, 36.
- Callisen, S. A. (1939). "The Iconography of the Cock on the Column". *The Art Bulletin* 21: 160-78.
- Camille, M. (1992). *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Campo, L. (1940). *I Drammi Satireschi della Grecia Antica*. Milan: Libri Antiquariato.
- Carpenter, T. (1991). *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Carpenter, T. and Faraone, C. (eds.) (1993). *Masks of Dionysus*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Carnière, J. C. (1979). *Le Carnaval et la Politique, Une Introduction à la Comédie Grecque Suivie d'un Choix de Fragments*. Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté.
- Caruso, C. (1984). "Travestissements Dionysiaques". Actes du Colloque International de Lausanne, 8-11 fév. 1984, *Image et Société en Grèce Ancienne Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande* 36: 103-10.
- Castell, P. (1977). "Social Occasions for Joking: A Cross Cultural Society", in *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*. H. Chapman (ed.). New York: Pergamon: 193-8.
- Cébe, J.-P. (1966). *La Caricature dans le Monde Romain Antique des Rignes à Juvénal*. Paris: Boccard.
- Chambry, E. (1985). *Aesopi Fabulae*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Les Belles Lettres.
- Chase, G. H. (1902). "The Shield Devices of the Greeks". *HSCP* 13: 61-127.
- Chiaro, D. (1992). *The Language of Jokes: Analysing Verbal Play*. New York: Routledge.
- Clarke, H. (1969). "The Humor of Homer". *Classical Journal* 64: 246-52.
- Clarke, J. (2007). *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clay, J. (1972). "The Planktai and Moly: Divine Naming and Knowing Homer". *Hermes* 100: 127-31.
- (1997). *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Clutton-Brock, J. (1993). *Cats, Ancient and Modern*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Codino, F. (1960). "Presupposti Religiosi e Tendenza Comico-realistica nella Mitologia Omerica". *Belfagor* 15: 551-66.
- Cohen, A. (1993). *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, B. (1978). *Attic Bilingual Vases and their Painters*. New York/London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- (ed.) (2000). *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cohen, D. (1983). *Theft in Athenian Law*. Munich: Beck.
- (1989). "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens". *Greece & Rome* 36: 3-15.

- Coleman, J. G. (1992). "All Seriousness Aside: The Laughing-learning Connection". *International Journal of Instructional Media* 19(3): 269-76.
- Collobert, C. (2000). "Héphaistos, l'Artisan du Rire Inextinguible des Dieux", in *Le Rire des Grecs*. M.-L. Desclos (ed.). Paris: Jerome Millon: 133-41.
- Connelly, J. B. (1993). "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting. Ajax and Cassandra at the Trojan Palladion", in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*. P. Holliday (ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 88-129.
- Cook, A. (1895). "The Bee in Greek Mythology". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 15: 1-24.
- Cormier, H. (1977). *The Humour of Jesus*. New York: Alba House.
- Cornford, F. M. (1993). *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (rev. edn.). J. Henderson (ed.). Michigan: Ann Arbor Paperbacks. University of Michigan Press.
- Courturier, L. C., Mansfield, R. S., and Gallagher, J. M. (1981). "Relationships between Humor, Formal Operational Ability, and Creativity in Eighth Graders". *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 139: 221-6.
- Csapo, E. and Slater, W. (eds.) (1994). *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Curtius, E. (1894). *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. Berlin: W. Hertz.
- D'Agostino, F. (2000). *Testi Umoristici Babilonesi e Assiri*. Brescia: Paideia Editrice.
- D'Amicis, A., Giboni, G., Lippolis, E., Maruggi, G., and Masiello, L. (1994). *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto*. Taranto: La Colomba.
- Darwin, C. (1872). *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. London: John Murray.
- Dasen, V. (1990). "L'Image du Nain dans l'Antiquité: Aspects Médicaux et Socio-religieux de la Représentation du Corps". *Bulletin de la Société Fribourgeoise des Sciences Naturelles* 79: 16-43.
- (1993). *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Daumas, M. (1998). *Cabiriaca. Recherches sur l'Iconographie du Culte des Cabires*. Paris: Edition de Boccard.
- David, E. (1989). "Laughter in Spartan Society", in *Classical Sparta: Techniques Behind Her Success*. A. Powell (ed.). Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press: 1-25.
- Davidson, J. (1997). *Courtesans and Fishcakes, The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. London: Harper Collins.
- Davies, C. (1982). "Ethnic Jokes, Moral Values, and Social Boundaries". *The British Journal of Sociology* 33.3: 383-403.
- (1990). *Ethnic Humor Around the World: A Comparative Analysis*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- (1998). *Jokes and their Relation to Society*. New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter (#4).
- Davies, M. I. (1990). "Asses and Rams: Dionysiac Release in Aristophanes' Wasps and Attic Vase-Painting". *Metis* 5: 169-81.
- Davies, M. and Kathirithamby, I. (1987). *Greek Insects*. London: Duckworth.
- Dawe, R. D. (2000). *Philogelos*. Munich: K. G. Saur.
- De Waele, F. (1926). "La Représentation de la Vente d'Huile à Athènes". *Revue Archéologique* 282-95.
- Decker, W. (1995). *Sport in der Griechischen Antike, vom Minoischen Wettkampf bis zu den Olympischen Spielen*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

- Delays, J.-M. (1996). *Le Comique: Principes, Procédés, Processus*. Paris: Seuil.
- Delatte, A. and Derchain, P. (1964). *Les Intailles Magiques Gréco-égyptiennes*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Delavaud-Roux, M. H. (1993). *Les Danses Armées en Grèce Antique*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.
- Delcourt, M. (1957). *Héphaïstos ou la Légende du Magicien*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres".
- Dentzer, J. M. (1982). *Le Motif du Banquet Couché dans le Proche-Orient et le Monde Grec du VIIe au IVe Siècle avant J.-C.* Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 246. Paris: Édition de Boccard.
- Deonna, W. (1957). "L'Âme Pupilline et Quelques Monuments Figurés". *L'Antiquité Classique* 26: 56-90.
- (1965). *Symbolisme de l'Œil*. Paris: Édition de Boccard.
- Desclos, M.-L. (ed.) (2000). *Le Rire des Grecs. Anthropologie du Rire en Grèce Ancienne*. Horos. Paris: Jérôme Millon.
- Descoedres, J. (1981). "Ἡδίστον δαιμόνιον". *Antichthon* 15: 8-14.
- Detienne, M. and Vernant, J.-P. (1978). *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*. Atlantic Highlands NJ: Humanities Press.
- Deubner, L. (1930). "Spiele und Spielzeug der Griechen". *Die Antike* 6: 162-77.
- Diehl, E. (1964). *Die Hydria. Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Dietrichs, E. (1988). "Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands". *Antike Kunst*, suppl.: 3-85.
- Dingwall, E. J. (1925). *Male Infibulation*. London: John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd.
- Dodds, E. R. (1951). *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Donaldson, M. D. (1999). *The Domestic Cat in Roman Civilization*. Lampeter: Edward Mellon Press.
- Dover, K. J. (1973). "Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behaviour". *Arethusa* 6: 59-83.
- (1978). *Greek Homosexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Driessen, H. (1997). "Humour, Laughter, and the Field: Reflections from Anthropology", in *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day*. J. Bremmer (ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press: 222-41.
- Dugas, C. (1935). *Les Vases Orientalisants de Style non Mélien*. Paris: Édition de Boccard.
- Dundes, A. (1991) "Bruno Bettelheim's Uses of Enchantment and Abuses of Scholarship". *The Journal of American Folklore* 104.411: 74-83.
- Dupréel, E. (1985). "Rire d'Accueil et Rire d'Exclusion". *Sociétés* 1(3): 3-5.
- Durand, J.-L. and Lissarrague, F. (1982). "Héros Cru ou Hôte Cuit: Histoire Quasi Cannibale d'Héraklès Chez Busiris". *Image et Céramique Grecque, Actes du Colloque de Rouen, 25-26/11 1982*. F. Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (eds.). Rouen: Presses Universitaires de Rouen.
- Eco, U. (1982). *Il Nome della Rosa*. Milan: Fabbri-Bompiani.
- (1984). "Frames of Comic Freedom", in *Carnival!* T. A. Sebeok (ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 1-9.
- Edwards, A. (2002). "Historicizing the Popular Grotesque: Bakhtin's Rabelais and his World and Attic Old Comedy", in *Bakhtin and the Classics*. R. Bracht Branham (ed.). Evanston: Springer Netherlands: 27-55.

- Ehrlich, H. J. (1979). "Observations on Ethnic and Intergroup Humor". *Ethnicity* 6: 383-98.
- Eisman, M. (1972). "Are Eyes Apotropaic?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 76: 210.
- Emelina, J. (1991). *Le Comique: Essai d'Interprétation Générale*. Paris: Sedes.
- Engels, D. (1999). *Classical Cats, the Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Escarpit, R. (1987). *L'Humour*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Esposito, A. M. and Tommaso, G. (1993). *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze*. Florence: Giunti.
- Fairbanks, A. (1928). *Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Falkner, T. M. (1989). *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Fenner, S. E. (1998). *Satyrs in Mythological Contexts on Greek Vases*. Lincoln: Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferrari, G. (1986). "Eye-cup". *Revue Archéologique* 5-20.
- Finley, M. I. (1976). "The Freedom of the Citizen in the Greek World". *Talanta* 7: 1-23.
- Finnestad, R. B. (1970). "The Smile of the Buddha", in *The Eclipse of Symbolism*. New York: Columbia University Press: 52-66.
- Fless, F. (2002). *Rotfigurige Keramik als Handelsware; Erwerb und Gebrauch Attischer Vasen im Mediterranean und Pontischen Raum während des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*. Leidorf: Rahden.
- Foley, H. P. (1985). *Ritual Irony. Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- (1994). *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Foster, B. R. (1974). "Humour and Cuneiform Literature". *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society* 6: 69-85.
- Francis, E. D. and Vickers, M. (eds.) (1990). *Image and Idea in Fifth-Century Greece*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Freud, S. (1905). *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. J. Strachey (ed.), vol. 8. London: Hogarth Press.
- Frickenhau, A. (1912). *Lenäenvasen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Froehner, W. (1876). *Anatomie des Vases Antiques*. Paris: A. Detaille.
- Froning, H., Holscher, T., and Mielsch, H. (eds.) (1992). *Kotinos, Festschrift für Erika Simon*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. (1982). "Idoles, Figures, Images: Autour de Dionysos". *Revue Archéologique* 81-108.
- (1989). "Le Masque du Dieu ou le Dieu-masque?" in *Dionysos: Mito e Mistero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3-5 novembre 1989*. F. Berti and C. Gasparri (eds.). Ferrara: 321-36.
- (1995). *Du Masque au Visage. Aspects de l'Identité en Grèce Ancienne, Idées et Recherches*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. and Vernant, J.-P. (1997). *Dans l'Oeil du Miroir*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Fry, E. (ed.) (1987). *Handbook of Humor and Psychotherapy: Advances in the Clinical Use of Humor*. Sarasota: Professional Resource Press.
- Furtwängler, A. and Morel, C. (eds.) (1883). *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*. Berlin: A. Asher.
- Furtwängler, A. and Reichhold, K. (eds.) (1904-32). *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswähl Hervorragender Vasenbilder*. Munich: F. Bruckmann.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gardiner, N. (1912). "Panathenaic Amphorae", *JHS* 32: 191-2.
- Garland, R. (1995). *The Eye of the Beholder, Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. London: Duckworth.
- Giangrande, G. (1963). "The Origin of the Attic Comedy". *Eranos* 61: 1-24.
- Giangrande, L. (1972). *The Use of Spoudogeloion in Greek and Roman Literature*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gilhus, I. S. (1990). "Carnival in Religion, The Feast of Fools in France". *Numen* 37(1): 24-52.
- Gill, D. (1991). "Pots and Trade: Spacefillers or Objects d'Art?" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111: 29-47.
- (1994). "The Distribution of Greek Vases and Long Distance Trade", in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. I. Morris (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 175-85.
- Gill, D. and Vickers, M. (1989). "Pots and Kettles". *Revue Archéologique* 297-303.
- Godel, R. (1960). *Une Grèce Secrète*. Paris: Editions "Les Belles Lettres".
- Gombrich, E. H. (1971). "The Mask and the Face", in *Art, Perception, and Reality*. M. Mandelbaum (ed.). Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Gräf, B. and Langlotz, E. (1933). *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Grant, M. A. (1924). *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of the Laughable: The Greek Rhetoricians and Cicero*. University of Wisconsin studies in Language and Literature, no. 21. Madison.
- Green, J. (1985a). "Drunk Again. A Study in the Iconography of the Comic Theater". *AJA* 89: 465-72.
- (1985b). "A Representation of the Birds of Aristophanes". *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2: 95-118.
- (1991). "Notes on Phlyax Vases". *NumAntCl* 20: 49-56.
- Green, J. and Handley, E. (1995). *Images of the Greek Theatre*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Greifenhagen, A. (1957). *Griechische Erosen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- (1966). *Staatliche Museen Berlin. Antikenabteilung. Antike Kunstwerke*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Grmek M. D. and Gourevitch D. (1998). *Les Maladies dans l'Art Antique*. Paris: Fayard.
- Grottanelli, C. (1983). "Tricksters, Scapegoats, Champions, Saviors". *History of Religions* 23.2: 117-39.
- Guenther, M. (1999). *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hafner, G. (1958). "Herakles-Geras-Ogmios". *JbRGZM* 5: 141-51.
- Halliwell, S. (1991a). "Comic Satire and Freedom of Speech in Classical Athens". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111: 48-70.
- (1991b). "The Uses of Laughter in Greek Culture". *Classical Quarterly* 41: 279-96.
- Halm-Tisserant, M. (1986). "La Représentation du Retour d'Héphaistos dans l'Olympe: Iconographie Traditionnelle et Innovations Formelles dans l'Atelier de Polygnote (440/430)". *Antike Kunst* 29: 8-22.
- (1993). *Cannibalisme et Immortalité*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, Les Belles-Lettres.

- Halperin, D. (1990). "The Democratic Body: Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens", in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*, D. Halperin (ed.), New York: Routledge: 107-12.
- Hamilton, R. (1992). *Choes and Anthesteria. Athenian Iconography and Ritual*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Hansen, P. A. (1976). "Pithecusan Humor. The Interpretation of the 'Nestor's cup' Reconsidered". *Glotta* 54: 25-43.
- Hanson, V. D. (1995). *The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*. New York: The Free Press.
- Harbsmeier, C. (1986). Some Preliminary Notes on Chinese Jokes and Cartoons. *China in the 1980s - and Beyond*, K. Brodsgaard and B. Arendrup (eds.), London: Curzon Press.
- Harvey, D. (1988). "Painted Ladies: Fact, Fiction and Fantasy", in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery Copenhagen 31.8.-4.9.87*, J. Christiansen and T. Melander (eds.), Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Thorvaldsens Museum: 242-54.
- Hedreen, G. (1992). *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting: Myth and Performance*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- (2002). *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- (2006). "I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair": Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry". *Classical Antiquity* 25: 277-325.
- Hegmon, M. (1992). "Archaeological Research on Style". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 517-36.
- Hemberg, B. (1950). *Die Kabiren*. Dissertation, University of Uppsala. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB.
- Henderson, J. (1975). *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- (1987). "Older Women in Attic Old Comedy". *TAPA* 117: 105-29.
- Hendrickson, R. (1983). *More Cunning than Man: A Social History of Rats and Men*. New York: Kensington.
- Hewitt, J. (1927). "Homeric Laughter". *Classical Journal* 23: 436-47.
- Heydemann, H. (1870). "Humoristische Vasenbilder aus Unteritalien". *BWPr* 30: 3-14.
- Hill, C. (1993). *The Soul of Wit. Joke Theory from Grimm to Freud*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Himmelmann, N. (1971). "Archäologisches zum Problem der Griechischen Sklaverei". *Abh. Mainz* 13: 614-57.
- (1980). *Über Hirten-Genre in der Antiken Kunst*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Hobbes, T. (1999, 1st edn. 1640). *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic: Part I, Human Nature, Part II, De Corpore Politico; with Three Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodges, F. M. (2001). "The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome: Male Genital Athletics and Their Relation to Lipodermos, Circumcision, Foreskin Restoration and the Kynodesme". *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75: 375-405.
- Hoepfner, W. and Schwardner, E. L. (1994). *Haus und Stadt im Klassischen Griechenland*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

- Hoffmann, H. (1962). *Attic Red-Figured Rhyta*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- (1977). *Sexual and Asexual Pursuit: A Structuralist Approach to Greek Vase Painting*. London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
- Hofstetter-Dolega, E. (1990). *Sirenen im Archaischen und Klassischen Griechland*. Würzburg: Tritsch.
- Holscher, T. (1974). "Ein Kelchkrater mit Perserkampf". *Antike Kunst* 17: 78-85.
- Houlihan, P. E. (1991). "A Figured Ostrakon with a Humorous Scene of Judgement". *MVSE: Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri - Columbia* 25: 30-5.
- (1996). *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- (2001). *Wit and Humour in Ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon.
- Hubbard, T. K. (1991). *The Mask of Comedy. Aristophanes and the Intertextual Parabasis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hobet, K. (1999). *Gravisca, Scavi nel Santuario Greco, La Ceramiche Attiche a Figure Rosse*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Hull, D. B. (1964). *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hunter, V. J. (1994). *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Laesuits, 420-320 BC*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Husband, C. (1988). "Racist Humour and Racist Ideology in British Television, or I Laughed Till You Cried", in *Humour in Society: Resistance and Control*. C. Powell and G. Paton (eds.). NY: St. Martin's: 149-78.
- Hutcheon, L. (1985). *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*. New York: Methuen.
- Hyers, C. (1974). *Zen and the Comic Spirit*. London: Barnes & Noble.
- Hynes, W. J. (1993). "Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters: A Heuristic Guide", in *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts, and Criticisms*. W. J. Hynes and W. G. Doty (eds.). Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press: 33-45.
- Hynes, W. J. and Doty, W. G. (eds.) (1993). *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts, and Criticisms*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- Immerwahr, H. R. (1990). *Attic Script: A Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1992). "New Wine in Ancient Wineskins: The Evidence from Attic Vases". *Hesperia* 61: 121-32.
- Iozzo, M. (1994). *Ceramica 'Calcidese': Nuovi Documenti e Problemi Riproposti*. Rome: Società Magna Grecia.
- (1996). *Vasi 'Calcidesi' del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze*. Pontedera: Bandecchi & Vivaldi.
- Jackson, D. A. (1976). "East Greek Influence on Attic vases". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (Supplementary Paper 13): 60-8.
- Jahn, O. (1843). *Archaeologische Beiträge*. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- (1868). "Perseus, Herakles, Satyrn und Vasenbildern das Satyrdrama". *Philologus* 27: 1-27.
- Janko, R. (1992, 1st edn 1984). *Aristotle on Comedy: Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics II*. London: Duckworth.
- Janik, V. K. (ed.) (1998). *Fools and Jesters in Literature, Art, and History: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Janni, P. (1978). *Etnografia e Mito. La Storia dei Pigmei*. Rome: Edizione dell'Ateneo.
- Jardon, D. (1988). *Du Comique dans le Texte Littéraire*. Brussels: De Boeck.
- Jennings, V. (2001). "Review of R. D. Dawe's *Philogelos* (Munich 2000)". *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 04.05.2001 (online: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2001/2001-04-05.html>).
- Johnston, A. (1979). *Trademarks on Greek Vases*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Jordan, J. A. (1988). *Attic Black-figured Eye-cups*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.
- Jung, C. G. (1956). "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure", in *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*. P. Radin (ed.). New York, NY: Philosophical Library: 195-211.
- (1959). *Four Archetypes: Mother, Rebirth, Spirit, Trickster*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kant, I. (2005, 1st edn 1781). *Critique of Judgment*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications Inc.
- Karouzou, S. P. (1936). "Herakles Satyricos". *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 60: 152-7; pls. XVII-XXI.
- (1946). "Choes". *American Journal of Archaeology* 50: 122-39.
- Katz, J. and Volk, K. (2000). "'Mere Bellies?': A New Look at Theogony 26-8". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120: 122-31.
- Keck, J. (1990). *Zur Lokalisierung der Chalkidischen Vasen. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologen - Verbandes, Mönchengladbach 8-10.1.1988*. Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen - Verbandes XI. Tübingen.
- Kenner, H. (1960). *Weinen und Lachen in der Griechischen Kunst*. Vienna: Rohrer.
- Kerényi, K. (1956). "The Trickster in Relation to Greek Mythology", in *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*. P. Radin (ed.). New York, NY: Philosophical Library: 171-91.
- Keuls, E. (1988). "The Social Position of Attic Vase Painters and the Birth of Caricature", in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery Copenhagen 31.8.-4.9.87*. J. Christiansen and T. Melander (eds.). Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Thorvaldsens Museum: 300-13.
- (1993). *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kilinski, K. (1990). *Boeotian Black Figure Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kilmer, M. E. (1993). *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*. London: Duckworth.
- King, C. (1983). "Who is that Cloaked Man? Observations on Early Fifth Century B.C. Pictures of the Golden Fleece". *American Journal of Archaeology* 87: 385-7.
- Kirkpatrick, J. and Dunn, F. (2002). "Herakles, Cercopes and Paracomedy". *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 132: 29-61.
- Klein, A. (1998). *The Courage to Laugh: Humor, Hope, and Healing in the Face of Death and Dying*. New York: Tarcher/Putnam.
- Knauer, E. R. (1986). "OY ΓΑΡ ΗΝ ΑΜΙΣ: A Chous by the Oionokles Painter". *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3: 91-100.
- Knight, W. F. (1970). *Elysium: On Ancient Greek and Roman Beliefs Concerning a Life After Death*. New York: Barnes and Noble.

- Koch, H. (1992). *Es Kündet Dareios der König, Vom Leben im Persischen Grossreich*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Koch-Harnach, G. (1989). *Erotische Symbole: Lotusblüte und Gemeinsamer Mantel auf Antiken Vasen*. Berlin: Mann.
- Konstan, D. (1995). *Greek Comedy and Ideology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Korkhonen, A. (1995). "Fools' Tools and Carnivals – Interpreting the World through Inversion and Misrule in Early Modern England", in *Laughter down the Centuries*. S. Jakel and A. Timonen (eds.). Turku: Turun Yliopisto 2: 193–203.
- Korshak, Y. (1977). *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*. Chicago: Ares Publishers.
- Kotsidu, H. (1991). *Die Musischen Agone der Panathenäen in Archaischer und Klassischer Zeit: Eine Historisch-archäologische Untersuchung*. Munich: Tuduv.
- Kraiker, W. (1930). "Pheidippos". *AM* 55: 167–80; pls. X–XI.
- Kunisch, N. (1990). "Die Augen der Augenschalen". *Antike Kunst* 33: 20–7.
- Kunisch, N., Parakenings, B., and Peifer, U. (1989). *Symposium, Griechische Vasen aus dem Antikenmuseum der Ruhr – Universität Bochum*. Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag.
- Kurke, L. (1997). "Inventing the Hetaira: Sex, Politics and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece". *Classical Antiquity* 16: 106–50.
- Kurtz, D. C. (1983). *The Berlin Painter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lambourne, L. (ed.) (1992). *The Art of Laughter, Cartoonists' and Collectors' Choice*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Lapalus, E. (1930). "Sur le Sens des Parodies de Thèmes Héroïques dans la Peinture des Vases du Cabirion Thébain". *Revue Archéologique* 2: 65–88.
- Lateiner, D. (1977). "No Laughing Matter". *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 107: 173–82.
- (1995). *Sardonic Smile, Nonverbal Behaviour in Homeric Epic*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Lawler, L. B. (1964). *The Dance in Ancient Greece*. London: A&C Black.
- Leacock, S. (1937). *Humour and Humanity, An Introduction to the Study of Humour*. London: T. Butterworth.
- Leclercq, E. (1995). *La Cérémonie du Rire: Pour une Socio-anthropologie de la Théâtralité des Rapports Sociaux et des Rites*. Doctoral Dissertation. Paris.
- Leifcourt, H. (1986). *Humor and Life Stress: Antidote to Adversity*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Lehmann, K. (1960). *Samothrace. The Inscriptions on Ceramics and Minor Objects*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lent, J. A. (1994). *Comic Art of Europe: An International Comprehensive Bibliography*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.
- (1996). *Comic Art in Africa, Asia, Australia, and Latin America: A Comprehensive, International Bibliography*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.
- (1999a). "The Horrors of Cartooning in Slim's Algeria". *The International Journal of Comic Art* 1(1): 150–6.
- (1999b). "Poland's Malgorzata Tabaka: Framer of Lyrical Satirical Cartoons". *International Journal of Comic Art* 1(2): 66–75.

- (2002a). "Fear [of] and Loafing [with] Ralph Steadman in Turkey". *International Journal of Comic Art* 4(2): 84-123.
- (2002b). "Larry Alcala and the Depiction of Filipinos As They Are". *International Journal of Comic Art* 4(2): 287-91.
- (2003a). "Cartooning in Malaysia and Singapore: The Same, but Different". *International Journal of Comic Art* 5(1): 256-89.
- (2003b). "Chinese Women Cartoonists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives". *International Journal of Comic Art* 5(2): 351-66.
- (2004). "India's Amar Chitra Katha: 'Fictionalized' History or the Real Story?". *International Journal of Comic Art* 6(1): 56-76.
- (2005). "Cartooning in Réunion, with Special Reference to the Work of Serge and Appollo". *International Journal of Comic Art* 7(1): 462-72.
- Lesky, A. (1961). "Griechen Lachen über ihre Götter". *Wiener humanistische Blätter* 4: 30-40.
- Levine, D. (1983). "Homeric Laughter and the Unsmiling Suitors". *Classical Journal* 78(2): 97-104.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1966). *The Raw and the Cooked. Introduction to a Science of Mythology*. London: Penguin.
- Lévy, E. (1976). "Les Femmes chez Aristophane". *Ktema* 1: 99-112.
- Lewis, S. (2002). *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*. London: Routledge.
- Lilja, S. (1976). *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.
- Lissarrague, F. (1984). "Dionysos s'en va-t-en Guerre (Actes du Colloque International de Lausanne, 8-11 fév. 1984, Image et Société en Grèce Ancienne)". *Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande* 36: 111-20.
- (1987). "De la Sexualité des Satyres". *Metis* 2: 63-90.
- (1988a). "Héraklès et les Satyres", in *Les Vases à Mémoire, les Collections de Céramique Grecque dans le Midi de la France*. E. Dally, C. Landes, and A.-F. Laurens (eds.). Paris: Imago: 142-3; fig. 95.
- (1988b). "Les Satyres et le Monde Animal", in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery Copenhagen 31.8.-4.9.87*. J. Christiansen and T. Melander (eds.). Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, and Thorvaldsens Museum.
- (1989). Un Peintre de Dionysos: Le Peintre de Kléophradès. *Dionysos: Mito e Mistero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Comacchio 3-5 novembre 1989*. F. Berti and C. Gasparri (eds.). Ferrara.
- (1990a). *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual (Un Flot d'Images)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- (1990b). *L'Autre Guerrier, Archers, Peltastes, Cavaliers dans l'Imagerie Attique*. Paris-Rome: La découverte/Ecole Française de Rome.
- (1992). "Graphein: Ecrire et Dessiner", in *L'Image en Jeu: de l'Antiquité à Paul Klee*, C. Bron and E. Kassapoglou (eds.). Paris: Editions Cabedita.
- (1993). "On the Wildness of Satyrs", in *Masks of Dionysus*. T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds.). London/Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 209-20.
- (1995). "Frauen, Kästchen, Gefässe: Einige Zeichen und Metaphern", in *Pandora, Frauen im Klassischen Griechenland*. E. D. Reeder, (ed.). Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

- (1998). "Intrusions au Gynécée", in *Les Mystères du Gynécée*. P. Veyne (ed.). Paris: Gallimard: 135-98.
- (2000a). "Aesop, Between Man and Beast: Ancient Portraits and Illustrations", in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. B. Cohen (ed.). Leiden: Brill: 132-49.
- (2000b). "Satyres, Sérieux s'Abstenir", in *Le Rire des Grecs. Anthropologie du Rire en Grèce Ancienne*. M.-L. Desclos (ed.). Paris: J. Millon: 109-22.
- Löffler-Laurian, A.-M. (1990). *Humoresques: Humour, Science et Langage*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Louis, P. (1975). "Monstres et Monstruosités dans la Biologie d'Aristote", in *Le Monde Grec: Pensée, Littérature, Histoire, Documents. Hommage à Claire Préaux*. J. Bingen (ed.). Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles: 277-84.
- Lovely, T. and Forster, E. S. (1984). *Physiognomonics. The Complete Works of Aristotle*. J. Barnes (ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1237-50.
- Luce, S. (1924). "Studies of the Exploits of Herakles on Vases", *American Journal of Archaeology* 28: 296-325.
- Lullies, R. (1940). "Zur Boiotisch Rothfigurigen Vasenmalerei", *AM* 65: 1-27.
- Maas, P. (1912). "Γελωτοποιοί", *RE* 7: coll. 1019-21.
- Maddow, D. M. (1995). *Aristophanes and Athens, an Introduction to the Plays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maffre, J.-J. (1975). "Collection Paul Canellopoulos VIII: Vases Béotiens", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 99: 409-520.
- Magnien, V. (1938). *Les Mystères d'Eleusis, leur Origine, le Rituel de leurs Initiations*. Paris: Payot.
- Mainoldi, C. (1984). *L'Image du Loup et du Chien dans la Grèce Ancienne d'Homère à Platon*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Manfrini-Aragno, I. (1992). "Femmes à la Fontaine, Réalité et Imaginaire", in *L'Image en Jeu: De l'Antiquité à Paul Klee*, C. Bron and E. Kassapoglou (eds.). Paris: Editions Cabedita: 127-48.
- Marconi, C. (1994). *Selinunte, Le Metope dell'Heraion*. Modena: F. C. Panini Editore.
- Martens, D. (1992). *Une Esthétique de la Transgression, Le Vase Grec de la Fin de l'Époque Géométrique au Début de l'Époque Classique*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique.
- Mason, P. (1998). *Bacchanal! The Carnival Culture of Trinidad*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Mauron, C. (1964). *Psychocritique du Genre Comique: Aristophane, Plaute, Térence, Molière*. Paris: Editions José Corti.
- McDermott, W. C. (1938). *The Ape in Antiquity*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press.
- McGlew, J. F. (2002). *Citizens on Stage: Comedy and Political Culture in the Athenian Democracy*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- McNiven, T. (2000). "Behaving Like an Other: Telltale Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting", in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. B. Cohen (ed.). Leiden: Brill: 71-98.
- McPhee, I. (1979). "An Apulian Oinochoe and the Robbery of Herakles", *Antike Kunst* 22: 38-42.

- Mele, A. (1998). "Calcidica e Calcesidi. Considerazioni sulla tradizione", in *Eufoica, L'Eubea e la Presenza Eufoica in Calcidica e in Occidente*. M. Bats and B. d'Agostino (eds.), Naples: Centre Jean Bérard: 217–28.
- Melot, M. (1975). *L'Oeil qui Rit. Le Pouvoir Comique des Images*. Fribourg: Office du Livre.
- Mette, H. J. (1959). *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Metzler, D. (1971). *Porträt. Und Gesellschaft. Über die Entstehung des Griechischen. Porträts in der Klassik*. Münster: privately published.
- Miller, D. (1982). "Structures and Strategies: An Aspect of the Relationship between Social Hierarchy and Cultural Change", in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*. I. Hodder (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 89–98.
- Miller, M. C. (1991). "Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?", in *Dining in a Classical Context*. W. J. Slater (ed.), Michigan: Ann Arbor: 59–81.
- (1997). *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2000). "The Myth of Bousiris: Ethnicity and Art", in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. B. Cohen (ed.), Leiden: Brill: 412–42.
- Miller, S. G. (2004). *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mills, L. (2002). "Laughter is the Best Medicine". *Active Years* 14: 74–77.
- Milman, M. (1983). *Trompe-l'œil: Painted Architecture*. Geneva: A. Skira.
- Milne, M. J. (1946–7). "Peleus and Akastos". *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 5: 255–60.
- Milner, D. J. (2005). *Understanding Humor in Japan*. Wayne State University Press.
- Milner, G. B. (1972). "Homo Ridens: Towards a Semiotic Theory of Humour and Laughter". *Semiotica* 5: 1–28.
- Mingazzini, P. (1971). *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Miralles, C. (1987). "Le Rire Sardonique". *Métis* 2(2): 31–43.
- Mitchell, A. G. (2000). "Une Outre Outrée: Parodie et Jeu Iconographique à Propos d'une Coupe de Leipzig". *KTEMA* 25: 115–22.
- (2002). *Comic Pictures in Greek Vase-painting: Humour in the Polis and the Dionysian World, in the Sixth and the Fifth Centuries B.C. Division of Life and Environmental Sciences, School of Archaeology, Wolfson College, Oxford, University of Oxford*: 2 v. (xiii, 287; xix, 98 leaves).
- (2004). "Humour in Greek Vase-painting". *Revue Archéologique* 3–32.
- (2007). "Ancient Greek Visual Puns: A Case Study in Visual Humor", in *New Approaches to the Linguistics of Humor*. S. Attardo and D. Popa (eds.), Academic Printing House of Dunarea de Jos, University of Galati (Romania): 197–216.
- (2008a). "Greek and Roman Art", in *In Our Own Image. Gods and Mortals in Ancient Art*. R. Wace (ed.), Norwich: Balding and Mansell.
- (2008b). *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, September, n.55 (online version: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2008/2008-09-55.html>).
- Möllerndorff, P. von. 1995. *Grundlagen einer Ästhetik der Alten Komödie. Untersuchungen zu Aristophanes und Michail Bachtin. Classica Monacensia, Band 9*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Moon, W. (ed.) (1983). *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

- Moreau, R. E. (1944). "Joking Relationships in Tanganyika". *Africa* 14: 386-400.
- Moret, J.-M. (1975). *L'Ilioupersis dans la Céramique Italique. Les Mythes et leur Expression Figurée au IV^e Siècle*. Geneva: Institut Suisse de Rome.
- (1984). *Oedipe, La Sphinx et les Thébains, Essai de Mythologie Iconographique*. Geneva: Institut Suisse de Rome.
- (1991). "Circé Tisseuse sur les Vases du Cabirion". *Revue Archéologique* 227-66.
- Morreal, J. (1983). *Taking Laughter Seriously*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (ed.) (1987). *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Morris, C. (1744). *An Essay Towards Fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humour, Raillery, Satire and Ridicule*. London: J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane; and W. Bickerton, in the Temple Exchange, near the Inner Temple Gate, Fleet Street.
- Morrison, J. S. (1968). *Greek Oared Ships, 900-322*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Motte, A. (1996). "Le Thème des Enfances Divines dans le Mythe Grec". *Les Etudes Classiques* 64: 109-25.
- Murray, O. (ed.) (1990). *Symptica, A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Narcy, M. (2000). "Le Comique, l'Ironie, Socrate", in *Le Rire des Grecs: Anthropologie du Rire en Grèce Ancienne*. M.-L. Desclos (ed.). Paris: Jerome Millon: 289-92.
- Nash, W. (1985). *The Language of Humor: Style and Technique in Discourse*. London/New York: Longman.
- Neumann, G. (1965). *Gesten und Gebärden in der Griechischen Kunst*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Nezlek, J. B. (2001). "Use of Humor as a Coping Mechanism: Psychological Adjustment, and Social Interaction". *HUMOR: International Journal of Humor Research* 14(4): 395-414.
- Nicholls, R. (1982). "The Drunken Herakles; A New Angle on an Unstable Subject". *Hesperia* 51: 321-8.
- Nilsen, D. L. E. (1983). "Stereotypical Humor". *American Humor* 10.2: 5-11.
- (1993). "Ethnic Humor", in *Humor Scholarship: A Research Bibliography*. D. L. E. Nilsen (ed.). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press: 219-32.
- Noël, D. (1982). "Du Vin pour Héraklès!" *Image et Céramique Grecque, Actes du Colloque de Rouen, 25-26/11 1982*. F. Lissarrague and F. Thelamon (eds.). Rouen: Presses Universitaires de Rouen: 141-50.
- Nohain, J. (1965). *Histoire du Rire à Travers le Monde*. Paris: Hachette.
- Oakley, J. H. (ed.) (1997). *Athenian Potters and Painters, The Conference Proceedings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2000). "Some 'other' members of the Athenian Household: Maids and their Mistresses in Fifth-century Athenian Art", in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. B. Cohen (ed.). Leiden: Brill: 227-48.
- O'Higgins, L. (2003). *Women and Humor in Classical Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1974). *Le Comique du Discours*. Brussels: Edition de l'Université de Bruxelles.

- Ollivier-Beauregard, R. (1894). *La Caricature Égyptienne, Historique, Politique et Morale*. Paris: Thorin.
- Olmos, R. and Balmaseda, L.-J. (1977-8). "El Tema de "Las Muchachas en la fuente" en unas Hidrias Aticas del Museo Arqueologico Nacional". *AEA* 50-1: 15-32.
- Orellana, B. (1985). *A Philosophy of Humour*. Faculty of Philosophy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Osborne, R. (1985). "The Erection and Mutilation of the Hermai". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* 211: 48-73.
- (1998). *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Padgett, J. (2000). "The Stable Hands of Dionysos: Satyrs and Donkeys as Symbols of Social Marginalization in Attic Vase Painting", in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. B. Cohen (ed.). Leiden: Brill: 43-70.
- Papastamos, D. (1970). *Die Melischen Amphoren*. Münster: Verlag Aschendorff.
- Parkin, J. (1997). *Humour Theorists of the Twentieth Century*. Lampeter (UK): Edwin Mellen Press.
- Paspalas, S. A. (2000). "A Persianizing Cup from Lydia". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19(2): 135-74.
- Paton, G. (1988). *Humour in Society: Resistance and Control*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Paton, G., Powell, C., and Wagg, S. (1996). *The Social Faces of Humour: Practices and Issues*. Aldershot (UK): Arena.
- Pelton, R. D. (1980). *The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Perry, B. E. (1952). *Aesopica*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Peschel, I. (1987). *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos, in der Attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Pfisterer-Haas, S. (1993). *Staatliche Antikensammlungen am Königsplatz München (trad. A. Shapiro)*. Munich.
- Pfuhl, E. (1923). *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*. München: F. Bruckmann.
- (1924). *Meisterwerke griechischer Zeichnung und Malerei*. München: F. Bruckmann.
- Picard, C. (1964). "Humour Chypriote". *Revue Archéologique* 1: 58-60.
- Pickard-Cambridge, A. (1962). *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*. 2nd edn. revised T. B. L. Webster. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1968). *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. 2nd edn. revised J. Gould and D. M. Lewis. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Piddington, R. (1933). *The Psychology of Laughter: A Study in Social Adaptation*. London: Figurehead.
- Plebe, A. (1952). *La Teoria del Comico da Aristotele a Plutarco*. Turin: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università di Torino.
- Pomeroy, S. (1975). *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*. New York: Schocken.
- Pontius, A. (1983). "Icono-diagnosis, A Medical-humanistic Approach. Detecting Crouzon's Malformation in Cook Islands' Prehistoric Art". *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 27: 107-20.
- Pottier, E. (1897-1922). *Vases Antiques du Louvre*. Paris: Hachette.
- Powell, J. E. (1937). "Puns in Herodotus". *Classical Review* 51: 103-5.

- Raaflaub, K. A., Ober, J., and Wallace, R. W. (2007). *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece. With Chapters by Paul Cartledge and Cynthia Farrar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Radermacher, L. (1947). *Weinen und Lachen, Studien über antikes Lebensgefühl*. Vienna: R. M. Rohrer.
- Rao, A. (1995). "Immortal Picture-Stories: Comic Art in Early Indian Art", in *Asian Popular Culture*. J. A. Lent (ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 159-74.
- Rapp, A. (1951). "A Greek Joe Miller". *Classical Journal* 46: 286-90 and 318.
- Raubitschek, I. K. (1972). "The Eye Cup". *American Journal of Archaeology* 76: 217.
- Razeto, F. (1985). *Archaeological Museum Florence*. Florence: Becocci.
- Reckford, K. (1987). *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Reins, C. W. (1972). "Laughter in Biblical and Rabbinic Literature". *Judaism* 21: 176-83.
- Reinsberg, C. (1989). *Ehe, Hetarentum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland*. Munich: Beck.
- Resnick, C. W. (1987). "'Risus Monasticus': Laughter and Medieval Monastic Culture". *Revue Bénédictine* 97(1-2): 90-100.
- Reusser, C. (2003a). "La Céramique Attique dans les Habitats Étrusques", in *Le Vase Grec et ses Destins*. P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds.). Munich: Biering & Brinkmann: 157-60.
- (2003b). "La Céramique Attique dans les Sanctuaires Étrusques", in *Le Vase Grec et ses Destins*. P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds.). Munich: Biering & Brinkmann: 161-6.
- (2003c). "La Céramique Attique dans les Tombes Étrusques", in *Le Vase Grec et ses Destins*. P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds.). Munich: Biering & Brinkmann: 167-78.
- Rhodes, P. J. (2003). "Nothing to Do with Democracy: Athenian Drama and the Polis". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 123: 104-19.
- Richardson, E. (1933). *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Richlin, A. (1992). *The Garden of Priapus. Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc., US.
- Richter, G. (1935). "Jason and the Golden Fleece". *American Journal of Archaeology* 39: 182-4.
- Richter, G. and Milne, M. (1935). *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Richter, G. M. A. and Hall F. (1936). *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Robertson, M. (1980). "An Unrecognized Cup by the Kleophrades Painter", in *Stele. Tomos eis Mnemen Nikolaou Kontoleonos*. K. Schefold and J. Pouilloux (eds.). Athens: 127-8.
- (1985). *Beazley and Attic Vase-painting. Beazley and Oxford*. D. Kurtz, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 19-30.
- (1992). *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, D. M. and Fluck, E. J. (1937). *A Study of the Greek Love-Names Including a Discussion of Paederasty and a Prosopographia*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

- Rodenwaldt, G. (1932). "Spinnen Hetären". *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 7-22.
- Robbarr, M. K. (1976). "Incongruity, Problem-solving and Laughter" in Humour and Laughter: Theory, Research and Applications. A. Chapman, A. and H. Foot (eds.). Chichester, England: Wiley: 37-54.
- Rouillard, F. and Verbanck-Piérard, A. (eds.) (2003). *Le Vase Grec et ses Destins*. Munich: Chichester, England: Wiley: 37-54.
- Biering & Brinkmann.
- Roux, G. (1981). "Samothrace, le Sanctuaire des Grands Dieux et ses Mystères", in *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume-Bude*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France: 2-23.
- Rumpf, A. (1927). *Chalkidische Vasen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- (1953). *Malerei und Zeichnung*. Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Sanders, B. (1996). *Sudden Glory: Laughter as Subversive History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Sangsue, D. (1994). *La Parodie*. Paris: Hachette.
- Samirangelli, P. (1989). *Homo Ridens, Estetica, Filologia, Psicologia, Storia del Comico*. Florence: Olshki.
- Schachter, A. (1986). *Cults of Boriota. Herakles to Poseidon*. British Institute of Classical Studies 38.2. London: 66-110.
- (2003). "Evolution of a Mystery Cult: The Theban Kabiroi", in *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*. M. Cosmopoulos (ed.). London: Routledge.
- Schäfer, A. (1997). *Unterhaltung beim Griechischen Symposium*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Schauburg, K. (1975). "ΕΡΩΤΗΜΕΛΕΑΝ ΕΙΜΗ". *AM* 90: 97-121; pls. 25(42).
- Schlarb, D. U. (1977). *The Thespian Polyandron* (424 B.C.): The Excavations and Finds from a Thespian State Burial. Dissertation Princeton University. Princeton, 3 vols.
- Schmidt, M. (2000). "Medea at Work", in *Periplois: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology* Presented to Sir John Boardman. G. Tsetskhladze, J. Prag, and A. Snodgrass (eds.). London: Thames & Hudson: 263-70.
- Schmidt, S. R. (1994). "Effects of Humour on Sentence Memory". *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition* 20(4): 953-67.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. (1992). *La Cité au Banquet: Histoire des Repas Publics dans les Cités Grecques*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome.
- Seeborg, A. (1965). "Hephaistos Rides Again". *JHS* 85: 102-9.
- Seidensicker, B. (1989). *Satyrspiele*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Seidensicker, B., Krummrich, R., and Pechstein, N. (eds.) (1999). *Das Griechische Satyrspiel*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1989). *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- (1992a). "Eros in Love, Pederasty and Pornography in Greece", in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. A. Richlin (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press: 53-72.
- (1992b). "The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens", in *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*. J. Neils (ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press: 53-75.
- (1993). *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 BC*. Zurich: Akanthus.

- (1997). "Correlating Shape and Subject: The Case of the Archaic Pelike", in *Athenian Pottery and Painters*. J. Oakley (ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sichterman, H. and Koch, G. (1975). *Griechische Mythen auf Römischen Sarkophagen*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Sifakis, G. M. (1971). *Parabasis and Animal Choruses, A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy*. London: Athlone Press.
- Simon, E. (1975). *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner-Museums*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- (1976). *Die Griechischen Vasen*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag.
- (1982). "Satyr-plays on Vases in the Time of Aeschylus", in *The Eye of Greece*. D. C. Kurtz and K. Sparkes (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press: 123-48.
- Slater, W. J. (1991). *Dining in a Classical Context*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Sluiter, R. and Rosen, M. (eds.) (2004). *Free Speech in Classical Antiquity*. Mnemosyne. Leiden: Brill.
- Smadja, E. (1993). *Le Rire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Smith, A. C. (1999). "Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119: 128-41.
- Smith, C. (1883). "Vase with Representation of Herakles and Geras". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 4: 96-110.
- Snowden, F. (1970). *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Snowden, F. (1976). "Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Greco-Roman Antiquity", in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. L. Bugner (ed.). Houston: Menil Foundation: 133-246.
- Solomon, J. C. (1996). "Humor and Aging Well: A Laughing Matter or a Matter of Laughing?" *American Behavioral Scientist* 39(3): 249-71.
- Sommerstein, A. (1986). "The Decree of Syrakosios". *Classical Quarterly* 36: 101-8.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1996). *"Reading" Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sparkes, B. (1975). "Illustrating Aristophanes". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 95: 122-35.
- (1976). "Treading the Grapes". *BABesch* 51: 47-64; figs. 1-27.
- (1977). *Pots and Pans of Classical Athens* (6th edn). Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- (1996). *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery*. London: Routledge.
- Stanford, W. (1958). *The Odyssey of Homer*. London: Macmillan.
- Steinhart, M. (1995). *Das Motiv des Auges in der Griechischen Bildkunst*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Steinrueck, M. (2000). "Comparaison du Sublime chez Pseudo-Longin et du Ridicule chez Archiloque", in *Le Rire des Grecs. Anthropologie du Rire en Grèce Ancienne*. M.-L. Desclos (ed.). Paris: Jerome Millon: 57-63.
- Stewart, A. (1997). *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stopsky, E. (1992). *Humor in the Classroom: A New Approach to Critical Thinking*. Lowell, MA: Discovery Enterprises.
- Sutton, D. F. (1980). *The Greek Satyr Play*. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain.

- (1984). "Scenes from the Greek Satyr Plays Illustrated in Greek Vase-painting". *Ancient World* 9: 119-26.
- (1994). *The Catharsis of Comedy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Sutton, R. E., Jr. (1981). *The Interaction between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-figure Pottery*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. UML.
- Swabey, M. C. (1961). *Comic Laughter: A Philosophical Survey*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Swaddling, J. (1999). *The Ancient Olympic Games*. London: British Museum Press.
- Sweet, W. E. (1987). *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece, A Source Book with Translations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sykes, A. J. M. (1966). "Joking Relationships in an Industrial Setting". *American Anthropologist* 68(1): 189-93.
- Szafran, A. W. (1994). *Freud et le Rire*. Paris: Métailié.
- Taafe, L. (1993). *Aristophanes and Women*. London: Routledge.
- Taillardat, J. (1965). *Les Images d'Aristophane: Etudes de Langue et de Style*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Taplin, O. (1987). "Classical Phallology, Iconographic Parody and Potted Aristophanes". *Dioniso* 57: 95-108.
- (1991a). "Auletai and Auletrides in Greek Comedy and Comic Vase-paintings". *NumAntCl* 20: 31-48.
- (1991b). Paratragedy in Comedy and in Comic Vase-paintings. Griechische Klassik. Vorträge bei der Interdisziplinären Tagung des Deutschen Archäologenverbandes und der Mommsengesellschaft vom 24.-27.10.1991 in Blaubeuren, Blaubeuren.
- (1993). *Comic Angels, and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-paintings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (1994). "Paratragedy in Comedy and in Comic Vase-paintings", in *Griechische Klassik*. E. Pöhlmann and W. Gauer (eds.). Tübingen: 111-14.
- (2007). *Pots and Plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- Tarin, A. (1991). "Les Divertissements en Grèce et à Rome", in *Jouer dans l'Antiquité*. R. May, J.-P. Néraudau, and M. Manson (eds.). Marseille: Musées de Marseille: 110-22.
- Thierfelder, A. (1968). *Philogelos. Der Lachfreund von Hierokles und Philagrios*. Munich: Heimeran.
- Thompson, D. (1971). *An Ancient Shopping Center, The Athenian Agora*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thompson, D. A. (1895). *A Glossary of Greek Birds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Threatte, L. (1980). *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Tietze-Conrat, E. (1957). *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art*. New York: Phaidon.
- Tiverios, M. A. (1974). "I'ANATHNAIKA". *ArchD* 29A: 142-51.
- Todorov, T. (1978). *Les Genres du Discours*. Paris: Seuil.
- Tosto, V. (1999). *The Black-figure Pottery Signed "Nikosthenes Epoiesen"*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Tottenham, C. (1927). *The Psychology of Laughter*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Trendall, A. (1967). *Phlyax Vases*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

- Ure, A. D. (1953). "Boeotian Vases with Women's Heads". *American Journal of Archaeology* 57: 245-9.
- Ure, P. (1927). *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Excavations Made at Rhitsona*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vallet, G. (1958). *Rhégion et Zancle. Histoire, Commerce et Civilisation des Cités Chalcidiennes du Détroit de Messine*. Paris: Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
- van de Walle, B. (1967). *L'Humour dans la Littérature et l'Art de l'Ancienne Egypte*. Leiden: Brill.
- van Hoorn, G. (1951). *Choes and Anthesteria*. Leiden: Brill.
- van Straten, F. T. (1995). *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vermeule, E. (1969). "Some Erotica in Boston". *Antike Kunst* 12: 9-15; pls. 4-12.
- (1979). *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Veyne, P. (1983). *Les Grecs ont-ils Cru à leurs Mythes, Essai sur l'Imagination Constitutive*. Paris: Seuil.
- Vian, F. (1951). *Répertoire des Gigantomachies Figurées dans l'Art Grec et Romain*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- (1952). *La Guerre des Géants*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Vickers, M. (1978). *Greek Symposia*. London: Joint Association of Classical Teachers.
- (1985). "Artful Crafts: The Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery". *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105: 108-28.
- Vickers, M. and Gill, D. (1994). *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1999). *Ancient Greek Pottery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Verneisel, K. (ed.) (1990). *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*. Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.
- Viljamaa, T. (1997). "Quintillian's Theory of Wit", in *Laughter Down the Centuries*. S. Jakel, A. Timonen, and V.-M. Rissanen (eds.). Turkey: Turun Yliopisto 3: 85-93.
- Vollkommer, R. (1988). *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vorberg, G. (1965). *Glossarium Eroticum*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Vos, M. F. (1963). *Scythian Archers in Archaic Vase-painting*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters.
- (1983). *CVA, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 1. Leiden: Brill.
- (1986). *Aulodic and Auletic Contests. Enthousiamos, Festschrift für M. J. Hemelrijk*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Voutiras, E. (1980). *Studien zu Interpretation und Stil Griechischer Porträts des 5. und frühen 4. Jahrhunderts*. Bonn.
- (2000). *Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Das 16 Fachsymposium der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung Veranstalter vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau*. D. Papenfuß, Strocka, V. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern: 21-37.
- Waldhauer, O. (1914). *Antichnirya Raspisniya Vazi v Imperatorskom Ermitazh*. St. Petersburg.
- Walter-Karydi, W. (1973). *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Samos.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Wannagat, D. (2001). "Eurymedon Eimi", in *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit. Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* R. von den Hoff and S. Schmidt (eds.), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag: 51-71.
- Watanabe, K. (2001). "Forbidden Zones - China and Japan", in *Sexualia. From Prehistory to Cyberspace*. C. Bishop and X. Osthelder (eds.), Cologne: Konemann: 450-89.
- Watzinger, C. (1924). *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*. Reutlingen: Gryphius-verlag.
- Webster, T. B. L. (1950). *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 70: 85-6.
- (1960). *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- (1967). *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- (1970). *The Greek Chorus*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- (1972). *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.
- Wehgartner, I. (1989). "Man Leaning on his Stick: Zu Bild und Inschrift eines Attischen Salbgefäßes". *Würzburger Jahrbücher* 15: 223-34.
- Wells, M. (1995). *Japanese Humour*. London/New York: Macmillan.
- Wiencke, M. I. (1954). "An Epic Theme in Greek Art". *American Journal of Archaeology* 58/4: 285-306; pls. 55-64.
- Willetts, E. D. (ed.) (1967). *The Law Code of Gortyn*. Kadmos supplement. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Williams, D. (1993). "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation". *Images of Women in Antiquity*. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds.), London: Routledge: 92-106.
- Williams, H. (1986). "Humor and Healing: Therapeutic Effects in Geriatrics". *Gerontion* 1(3): 14-17.
- Wilson, C. P. (1979). *Jokes: Form, Content, Use and Function*. London: Academic Press.
- Wilson, P. (1999). "The Aulos in Athens", in *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, P. L. (1991). "The Green Man: The Trickster Figure in Sufism". *Gnosis* 19: 22ff.
- Wolters, P. (1915). "Peleus auf dem Pelion". *Archäologische Bemerkungen* 2.
- Wrede, W. (1928). "Der Maskengott". *AM* 53: 66-95.
- Wright, B. (1994). *Clowns of the Hopi*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing.
- Zanker, P. (1995). *Socrates, The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zenner, W. P. (1970). "Jokes and Ethnic Stereotyping". *Anthropological Quarterly* 43: 93-113.
- Zimmermann, K. (1980). "Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf Griechischen Vasenbildern". *Jdl* 95: 163-96.
- Zinserling, V. (1967). "Physiognomische Studien in der Spätarchaischen und Klassischen Vasenmalerei". *WZRoStock* 16: 571-5.
- Ziomecki, J. (1975). *Les Représentations d'Artisans sur les Vases Attiques*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Ziv, A. (1976). "Facilitating Effects of Humor on Creativity". *Journal of Educational Psychology* 68(3): 318-22.

Index of Vases Cited in the Text

ADOLPHSECK *Schloss Fasenerie*

[3](#), [165](#), [283](#), [307](#)

[12](#), [117](#), [283](#), [301](#)

[42](#), [69](#)

ADRIA *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*

[B559](#) ([22329](#)), [246](#), [291](#)

AMHERST *Amherst College*

[1962.74](#), [43](#), [283](#), [288](#), [295](#)

AMSTERDAM *Allard Pierson Museum*

[3217](#), [248](#), [308](#)

ANCONA *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*

[3198](#) ([105](#)), [222](#), [223](#), [309](#)

ATHENS *Agora Museum*

[P2026](#), [48](#)

[P2574](#), [239](#), [290](#), [295](#)

[P2578](#), [174](#), [287](#), [308](#)

[P8892](#), [108](#), [290](#)

[P9281](#), [180](#), [290](#), [294](#), [308](#)

[P13245](#), [125](#), [286](#), [312](#)

[P15210](#), [195](#)

[P18567](#), [71](#)

ATHENS *National Archaeological Museum*

([BA 2671](#)), [186](#), [308](#)

([BA 30686](#)), [248](#)

[354](#), [36](#)

[424](#), [xiv](#), [257](#), [268](#), [269](#)

[425](#), [260](#)

[426](#), [xiv](#), [266](#), [304](#)

[427](#), [257](#), [268](#)

[516](#) ([CC970](#)), [204](#), [286](#)

[541](#), [169](#), [284](#), [307](#)

[545](#), [256](#), [279](#)

[559](#), [60](#), [284](#)

[1045](#) ([CC691](#)), [286](#)

[1113](#) ([CC805](#)), [43](#), [283](#)

[1132](#) ([CC957](#)), [152](#), [220](#)

[1167](#) ([CC1339](#)), [211](#), [291](#), [303](#)

[1218](#) ([CC1283](#)), [202](#), [292](#), [303](#)

[1219](#) ([CC1282](#)), [202](#), [303](#)

[1224](#), [60](#), [290](#)

[1418](#) ([CC1181](#)), [119](#), [291](#)

[1584](#) ([CC1550](#)), [63](#)

[1607](#) ([CC1480](#)), [231](#)

[1926](#) ([CC1668](#)), [119](#)

[2510](#) ([CC1600BIS](#)), [97](#), [232](#), [303](#)

[9683](#) ([CC1175](#)), [106](#), [291](#), [295](#),

[302](#)

[10426](#), [xiv](#), [258](#), [259](#)

[10429](#), [xiv](#), [263](#), [274](#), [275](#)

[10466](#), [259](#), [260](#), [266](#), [279](#)

[10530](#), [xiv](#), [263](#), [265](#), [269](#),

[270](#)

[12468](#), [60](#)

[12547](#), [262](#)

[12596](#), [218](#), [303](#)

[12821](#), [96](#), [283](#)

[12880](#), [257](#), [269](#)

[13027](#) ([N1055](#)), [209](#)

[13261](#), [60](#)

[14528](#), [94](#)

[17286](#), [x](#), [89](#)

Acropolis Coll. [2.79](#), [102](#), [288](#)

- ATHENS *National Archaeological Museum (cont.)*
 Acropolis Coll. 2.702, 175
 Acropolis Coll. 2.1073, ix, 33, 34, 71, 248
 CC1353 (1246), 181
 KH1.97K3, pl.8.1, 259
 P24661, 134
- ATHENS *Private Collection*
 (BA 210122), 48
- ATHENS *Private Collection, Kanellopoulos*
 (BA 3861), 166, 294
- AVIGNON
 S64 (352366), 174, 283, 308
- BALTIMORE *John Hopkins University*
 B3, 158
 B9 (G3730), 115, 288, 304
 B13, 156
 E3, 294
- BALTIMORE *Walters Art Gallery*
 48.42, 19, 284
- BARANELLO *Museo Civico*
 4249, 191, 289
- BARI *Museo Archeologico Provinciale*
 3083, 61
 3899, 151
 R150, 169, 173
- BASEL *Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig*
 BS411, 229
 BS415, 137, 290, 303, 308
 BS423, 200
 BS439, 47, 243
 BS450, 226, 289, 309
 BS463, 90, 289
 BS480, 85
 BS1423, x, 72, 82, 83, 91, 226, 288, 302
 BS1450, 223
 BS1921.377, 173
 Kä428, 48, 287, 295, 308
 Kuhn59, 180, 287
 Z364, 148, 286
- BASEL *Market*
 (BA 10357), 226, 288, 295, 309
- (BA 12996), 142, 143, 287, 295, 305, 309
 (BA 201392), 87, 289
 (BA 275888), xi, 147
 (BA 351370), 123, 286
 (Cahn 1995.13), 48, 287, 295
 ARV² 221.8bis, 134, 290, 303
 Auktion 26.pl.40.119, 134
 Auktion, 56.105, 60
 Auktion, 56.108, 308
 MuM 16.p.33.129, 133, 303
 MuM 16.pl.28.119, 87
- BASEL *Private Collection*
 TierAntike 1974.325ab, 58, 125
- BASEL *Private Collection Cahn*
 HC160, 87
 HC355, 123, 282, 284
 HC431, 189
 HC883, 43
- BERKELEY *Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology*
 8.3379, ix, 30, 31, 162, 284
 8.4583, 200, 289, 294, 309
- BERLIN *Market*
 (BA 211713), 142, 218, 305
- BERLIN *Once*
 (BA 200559), 169
- BERLIN *Private Collection*
 (BA 2725), xiii, 205, 309
- BERLIN *Schloss Charlottenburg*
 F2394, 191
- BERLIN *Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung*
 (BA 205057), 202
 1928, 184, 304, 307
 1962.33, xii, 184, 185, 287, 294, 303, 304, 308
 1964.4, xii, 163, 164, 232, 290, 294, 309
 1966.19, 174, 292, 308
 1966.21, 79
 1966.62, 139, 182, 291, 295, 304
 3159, xiv, 269, 270, 273
 3179, xiv, 241, 261, 262, 269, 301
 3186, 231

- 3206, 79, 291, 295
 3228, xiii, 194, 282, 301, 308
 3230, 204
 3251, 168, 292, 309
 3284, 275
 3286, xiv, 255, 257, 260
 3385, 260
 31404, 198
F1686, 131
 F1697, 207
 F1701, 134
 F1830, 207
 F1856, 125, 312
 F1919, 125, 282, 286, 312
 F2172, 76, 138, 182, 291, 295
 F2173, 128, 197, 289, 294
 F2180, 241
 F2212, 137
 F2267, 189, 289
 F2270, 178
 F2278, 98, 292
 F2291, 232
 F2294, 195, 294
 F2298, 197
 F2307, 47, 287, 294
F2309, 87, 90, 288, 294
 F2320, 62, 287, 295
F2406, 63
 F2517, ix, 50, 57, 287
 F2523, 181, 287, 294, 309
 F2525, 182
 F2588, xii, 178, 179
 F2599, 191, 291, 294, 308
 F2758, 109
 F4027, 128, 291, 295, 312
V.I. 3974, 151
BOLOGNA Museo Civico
Archeologico
 169, 107, 290, 295
 190, 223, 291, 294
 206, 139, 182
 241, 156, 197, 224, 291, 294
 PU283, 274
BONN Akademisches Kunstmuseum
 301, xiv, 261, 262
 1216.183-5 (1216.354-7), 209
BOSTON Fogg Art Museum
KH 1.100K21, pl.27.3, 274
BOSTON Museum of Fine Arts
00.338, 101
00.342, 186, 216, 287, 294, 308
 01.8024, xii, 181, 188, 189, 294
 01.8035, 68
 01.8069 (565), 270
03.788, 210
 10.185, 138, 291, 295, 304
 10.190, 90, 287
 10.651, ix, 43, 44, 283
 13.82, 158, 287
 13.83, ix, 45, 46, 291, 294
 13.95, 174, 289, 294, 308
 13.100, 183
 13.186, 102
 13.200, 71
 20.18, 208
 61.1073, 43, 283
 62.613, xiii, 196, 287, 309
 64.2032, 182, 288, 294
 76.45 (R426), 238
 76.46 (1876.46), xiii, 224, 225, 226,
 288
 95.19, 133, 290, 294, 303
95.28, xi, 141, 292
 98.882, 188, 289, 295
 98.924, 96, 282, 283
 99.526, 56, 195
 99.532, 271
 99.533, xiv, 97, 257, 270, 271
 99.534, 269
 1961.384, 228
 1970.233, 78
 1970.567, 223
 1979.618, 101, 285
 Res.08.30.a, x, 99, 100, 143, 218, 290,
 294, 305, 309
 Res.08.31.b, 248
 Res.08.31.c, x, 79, 80
 Res.08.31.d, ix, 41, 42, 292, 294
BRUSSELS Bibliothèque Royale
11, 174, 287, 308

BRUSSELS *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*

A723, 192, 291
A1312, xiii, 212, 213, 307
R259, x, 90, 91, 292, 295
R279, x, 68, 69, 282, 286
R293, 123, 153, 282
R302, 109, 291, 295
R327, 224
R346, x, 74, 75, 282, 301
R350, 57, 288
R388, xii, 165, 285, 307

BRYN MAWR *Ella Riegel Memorial Museum*

P217, xiv, 266, 267

BUDAPEST *Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts*

50.105, 43, 283
50.155, 169, 289, 294, 308

BUFFALO *Albright Art Gallery*

G600, 162, 284, 307

CALTANISSETTA *Museo Civico*

20371 (S810), 195, 309

CAMBRIDGE *Fitzwilliam Museum*

(BA 204353), 90, 289
37.17, 174, 290
GR18.1937 (37.17), 177, 180, 289, 294
GR61.1864 (G84), 45, 283

CAMBRIDGE *Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum*

24.1908, 57
1925.30.34, 127, 289, 295, 312

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA *Krannert Art Museum*

70.8.4, 220

CHIUSI *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*

1830, 169, 290, 294, 308

CHRISTCHURCH (NEW ZEALAND) *University of Canterbury*

AR430, 66

CINCINNATI *Art Museum*

1959.1, 106, 286, 302

CLEVELAND *Museum of Art*

76.89, 45, 292, 294
91.1, 151

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
Museum of Art and Archaeology

75.81, 174, 291, 294

COPENHAGEN *National Museum*

#, ix, 41, 42
(BA 200586), 184
99, 225, 289, 294, 308
107, 101, 289
598, 183, 304
1943, xii, 156, 157, 162, 293
3880, 90, 288, 294
4759, 165, 286, 307
7612, 134
13440, x, 96, 97, 135, 232, 285, 304

CORINTH *Archaeological Museum*

C33.210, 186, 287, 294, 308
C39.386, 198, 291, 294
CP885, 210

CRACOW *Czartoryski Museum*

1259, 180, 289

DALLAS *Museum of Fine Arts*

1972.5, 39, 284

DION *Archaeological Museum*

6941, 79

DRESDEN *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum*

ZV1210, 262
ZV1827 (ZV1475), 246
ZV2535, xii, 182, 304

DUNEDIN *Otago Museum*

E48.232, 169, 291

DÜSSELDORF *Hetjens-Museum*

1955.1, 174, 293, 308

EDINBURGH *National Museums of Scotland*

1887.213, 101, 292

ERLANGEN *Friedrich-Alexander-Universität*

486, 57
707, 237, 291, 295

FERRARA *Museo Nazionale di Spina*

20363 (T19CVPA), 238, 288
28623, 87, 291, 308

- T254 (3129), 197, 224
 T269 (15.365), 214, 288, 309, 311
- FIESOLE *Costantini*
 (BA 6806), 133, 284, 294, 303
- FLORENCE *Museo Archeologico*
 3897, 79
 3914, 170
 4209, x, xiii, 106, 107, 144, 214, 215,
 227, 285, 310
 72732, ix, 56, 70
 80190, 216
 4B19, 168, 289, 309
 4B48, 174, 307, 308
 PD425, 200
 V6 (V), 199, 290, 303, 309
- FRANKFURT *Museum für Vor- und
 Frühgeschichte*
 B308, 159, 284
 B411, 173
- GELA *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*
 N108B (108B), 156
- GENEVA *Musée d'art et d'histoire*
 HR85, 182, 304
 I529, 197, 287, 294
 16908, x, 87, 88, 158
- GENOA *Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure*
 1150, xii, 171, 292, 294, 308
- GOtha *Schlossmuseum*
 64, 60
 75, 211, 290, 303, 309
 Ahv.44 (44), 125, 312
- GRAVIsCA *Excavation*
 73.21187, 48
- HABANA *Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes*
 R79-1011 (159), xiii, 192, 290, 301
- HAMBURG *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*
 1962.134, 47, 287
 1970.99, ix, 37, 38, 162, 166, 285,
 292, 294
 1981.173, x, 84, 292, 302
 1983.275, 248
 1984.457, x, 103, 105
- HAMM *Museum*
 3690, 101, 288, 294
- HANNOVER *Kestner Museum*
 1966.99, 48
- HARROW *School Museum*
 55, 174, 289, 294, 308
- HEIDELBERG *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität*
 15, 242
 190 (B118), xiv, 255, 257, 263
 253, 57
 S157, 257, 261
- KARLSRUHE *Badisches Landesmuseum*
 64.52, xii, 166, 167, 285
 70.395, 90
 203 (B95), 142
 B32 (167), 228
 B1513 (214), 200
 B1814 (219), 87, 288, 294, 308
 B2596, 262
- KASSEL *Hessisches Landesmuseum*
 ALG18, 265, 271
 ALG57, 47
 T424, 266, 279, 304
- KIEL *Kunsthalle Antikensammlung*
 B74, 260
 B541, 87, 291, 308
- KIEL *Private Collection*
 #, 155
- KUSNACHT *Hirschmann Collection*
 G57, 59
- LAON *Musée Archéologique Municipal*
 37.898, 43, 283
 37.1023, 182
 37.1031, x, 92, 290
 37.1033, 169, 173, 289, 308
 37.1034, xiv, 245, 247
- LAUSANNE *Musée Historique*
 3250, 184, 289, 294, 309
- LECCE *Museo Provinciale Sigismondo
 Castromediano*
 602, 156, 197
 629, 154, 304
- LEIDEN *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*
 2575, 120
 K94.9.15, xiv, 264
 K94.9.20, 159, 284, 307

LEIDEN *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (cont.)

- PC9 (XVI76), xii, 184, 185, 283, 307
 PC78 (18H38), 141
 PC80 (18H35), 193, 290, 294, 308
 PC89 (XVIII4), 48
 XVI79 (PC8), 130

LEIPZIG *Karl-Marx-Universität*

- T513, 101, 292
 T643, 205, 289, 294, 295, 303, 309
 T3589, 181, 287, 309

LILLE *Palais des Beaux-Arts*

- 763, 96, 135, 232, 282, 283

LISBON *Foundation Gulbenkian*

- 682, xiii, 226, 227, 288

LIVERPOOL *Public Museums*

- 1977.144.12, 134

LONDON *British Museum*

- 97.7-21.2, 74
 1888.6-1.392, 36
 1893.3-3.1, xiv, 273
 1899.7-21.4, 74
 1910.6-13.13, 76
 1920.12-21.1, xiv, 268
 1920.6-13.1, 164
 1922.10-18.1, x, 77, 291
 1947.7-14.8, xiii, 227
 1971.11-1.1, 43
 B77, 257, 271
 B78, 261
 B134 (1842.3-14.1), 130, 133
 B138, 134
 B144 (1849.11-22.1), 133, 286, 303
 B163 (1843.11-3.40), 107
 B177, xi, 148, 283
 B190, 133
 B198, 133, 286, 303
 B215 (1843.11-3.60), 42, 43, 284
 B260, 133
 B264 (1836.2-24.48), 164, 167, 227, 286, 307
 B266, 165, 283, 307
 B295 (1867.5-8.968), 241
 B328 (1843.11-3.59), 223
 B342 (37.6-9.73), 43, 283
 B424 (1867.5-8.962), 111
 B473, 125, 282, 286, 312

- B502 (1864.10-7.228), xiii, 228, 230
 B509 (1842.7-28.787), 207
 B536, 126, 283, 312
 D2, xi, 146
 D7, 275
 E3, xii, 177, 178, 289, 294
 E6, xiii, 241, 242, 287
 E7, 47, 289, 294
 E27, 87, 289
 E35, 158, 169, 289, 294, 308
 E38, 106, 289, 294
 E44 (1836.2-24.25), ix, 34, 35, 121, 295
 E48 (1843.11-3.13), 109
 E65 (1873.8-10.376), xi, 142, 143, 218, 288, 305, 309
 E66, xi, 128, 129, 288, 312
 E83, xi, 113, 116
 E108, 181, 289, 294
 E142, 193
 E146, 192, 294
 E156, 231
 E178, 232
 E181, xiii, 222
 E202 (1867.5-8.1041), ix, 59, 292, 295
 E207, 59
 E290, 117, 119, 288, 295, 301
 E307, 109, 158, 272, 287
 E316, 135, 292
 E335, 169, 175, 308
 E370, xi, 111, 113, 302
 E377, xii, 174, 175, 288, 294
 E382 (1836.2-24.28), 231
 E387, x, 93, 191, 292, 294, 308
 E399, 222
 E443, 176
 E447 (1851.4-16.9), 156
 E467 (1856.12-13.1), 225, 290, 308
 E487, xiii, 197, 198, 289, 294
 E512, 119
 E532, 169, 173, 308
 E539, ix, 32, 220, 288, 309
 E765, 52
 E768, 188, 233, 234, 288, 294, 304, 308
 E769, 76
 E815, 136

INDEX OF VASES CITED IN THE TEXT

- E819, x, 81, 82, 289
 F99, 151, 312
 F366, xi
 W40 (1865.11-18.40), 162, 283
- LONDON Market**
 (BA 7492), 225, 284
 (BA 45356), 69
 (BA 46952), 202, 303
 (BA 202245), 167, 227, 288, 295
 (BA 275361), 222
 (BA 340005), 169, 173, 288, 294, 308
 (BA 352424), 108, 291
 ARV² 1291.2, 96
 Christie's 16-7-86.no.141, 166
 Sotheby's 11-7-88.no.111, 143
 Sotheby's 13.07.1987.no.274, 43
 Sotheby's 13-12-90.no.238, 164
 Sotheby's 14.12.1995.no.140, 238
- LONDON Victoria & Albert Museum**
 1776-1919, 151, 312
- LOS ANGELES County Museum**
 50.8.23 (A5933.50.29), 216
- LUCERNE Market**
 (BA 361404), 128, 286, 312
- MADRID Museo Arqueológico Nacional**
 11117 (L160), x, 72, 287, 298
- MALIBU The J.-Paul Getty Museum**
 #, xi
 68.AE.19, 166, 285, 294
 77.AE.11, 220
 80.AE.31, 66, 78, 289, 294
 81.AE.149, 199, 289, 303
 83.AE.285, 197
 83.AE.362, 99
 84.AE.745, 69
 86.AE.199, 71
 86.AE.237 (S82.AE.30), ix, 48, 49, 281
 86.AE.249 (S80.AE.18), 142
 86.AE.291 (S80.AE.251), 188, 287, 295, 308
 86.AE.296 (S80.AE.7), 176
 86.AE.476, 52, 72, 232, 289, 295
 S80.AE.34 (86.AE.257), 231, 288, 309
 S80.AE.277, 186, 288, 294, 308
 S80.AE.304 (86.AE.265, x, 75, 76
 S.82.AE.83 (82.AE.33), 207, 208
- MELBOURNE University Museum**
 1931.0009 (MUV18), 192
- MILAN Moretti Collection**
 #, xi, 152
- MILAN Torno Collection**
 (BA 206564), 23
- MONTPELLIER Musée Fabre**
 836.4.339, 212, 307
- MUNICH Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek**
 444 (1844), 36
 586, ix, 61
 589, 37
 590, 37
 1389 (J1119), 186
 1480 (8518), 126, 159, 286
 1522 (J1179), 167, 227, 286
 1525 (J147), 162, 285, 307
 1539 (J543), 217
 1563 (J615), 45, 285
 1619 (J86), 200, 288
 1717 (J731), 191
 1727 (J475), 131, 132, 284, 294
 1952, xii, 162, 163, 307
 1984 (J348), 186, 286
 2000 (J59), 162, 284
 2014 (J868), 40
 2082, 58
 2335A (J385), 219, 292, 309
 2345 (J376), 119
 2347, ix, 52, 53
 2360 (J384), 111, 214, 288, 309, 312
 2361 (J776), 144, 288
 2381 (J542), xii, 186, 187, 212, 290, 294
 2390, 170
 2421 (J6), ix, 66, 67, 78
 2422 (J50), xii, 160, 161, 291
 2431 (J358), 60
 2544 (J854), 173
 2545 (J856), 173
 2581 (J1170), 41, 291, 294
 2591, 142, 143, 218, 291, 294, 305, 309
 2592, xiii, 197, 199
 2603 (J1240), 45

MUNICH *Staatliche Antikensammlungen
und Glyptothek (cont.)*

2606 (J1087), 173, 291, 308

2657 (J507), 209

3057, 256, 257, 260

3058, 260

6187, 37

8762, 128, 290, 312

8934, 76

8935, 78, 289

Barceiss 136, 169, 292, 308

J1187 (1546), 225

2044 (8729; J339), 37

MÜNSTER *Museum der Universität*

20, 285

584, 230

726, 96, 284

784, 204, 284

MYKONOS *Archaeological Museum*

(BA302994), 69

Ba 1, 36

NAPLES *Museo Archeologico Nazionale*

81254 (H2763), 181

81673 (H3240), xiii, 209, 210

126053, 102

H3369 (81295), 85, 291

H2422 (81669), x, 99, 100, 131, 225

STG240, 169

NAPLES *Museo di Capodimonte*

(BA 213747), xi, 140, 219, 226, 295

NAUPLION *Archaeological Museum*

144, 273

NEW HAVEN *Yale University*

160, 238

NEW ORLEANS *Isaac Delgado Museum of
Art*

1638, 133

NEW YORK *Market*

(BA 28056), 51, 72, 289, 294

(BA 30500), xiii, 200, 201, 287, 294, 309

(BA 205374), 201, 290, 294, 309

NEW YORK *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

06.1021.177, 201, 289, 294, 309

07.286.47, 243, 288

07.286.66, 275

12.229.13, xii, 186, 187, 288, 294

12.234.4, 215, 285

17.230.37, x, 70, 288

17.230.5, 156, 218

34.11.7, 223

37.11.19, ix, 64, 65, 90, 202

41.162.29, xi, 125, 126, 282, 286, 312

46.11.7, xviii, 96, 122, 285

49.11.1, 156

52.11.18, 214

56.171.52, 169, 291, 294, 303, 308

56.171.61, 76, 288

1981.11.10, 147, 289, 294, 295

1989.281.62, 3

1989.281.71, 198

GR529 (X21.17), 136, 286, 304

LI979.17.1 (1989.281.69), 207, 291, 294

ORVIETO *Museo Civico, Collection Faina*

590, 101, 289

1044, 186, 293, 308

2606, 173, 283, 307

OXFORD *Ashmolean Museum*

283 (V283), 169, 182, 289, 294, 308

296, 59, 292

297, 60

330 (V330), 173, 310

520 (V520), x, 87, 88, 158

539, ix, 52, 54, 173, 220, 308

541 (V541), 159

563 (V563), 68, 232, 289, 294, 303

1927.4, 211, 294

1937.983, 211, 288, 303, 309

1943.79, 117, 291, 295, 301

1946.50, 182

1947.262, 292

1965.105, 212, 283, 307

1965.117, 133, 286, 303

1965.124, 102

1971.866, 240, 291

1974.334, 41

G249 (V262), xiv, 257, 263, 272

PADULA *Museo Archeologico della Lucania
Occidentale*

TxLii CR. V, 212

PALERMO Museo Archeologico

Regionale

- 1497, 232, 285, 304
2558, 186
2564, xii, 174, 176
V651, xii, 169, 170, 292
V653, 47, 289, 294, 301

PARIS Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des
Médailles

- 255, 120
306, 137
343, xiii, 228, 229, 284
357, 181
391, 174
397, xi, 112, 114, 289, 295
424, 217
509, xii, 167, 168, 289
812, 240
848, xii, 178, 179, 291

PARIS Market

- (BA 16258), 191
(BA 213669), 215, 291, 294
Drouot, 128

PARIS Musée du Louvre

- #, 151
CA493, xiii, 203, 204
CA616, 96, 131, 135, 232, 282, 283,
304
CA636, 223
CA1527, 47, 292, 294
CA1728, xiii, 221, 288
CA1730, 186, 216, 306
CA1947, 184, 290, 309
CA2183, xiii, 98, 236, 237, 239,
288, 295
CA2192, xi, 134, 135, 291, 303
CA2505, ix, 51, 109
CA3456, xii, 177, 308
CP10651, 74
CP10740, 195, 284, 294, 307
CP10793, 139, 182, 291, 295, 304
CP10864, 181, 307
CP11229, 182
CP11255, 175, 290, 294, 308
E702, xi, 136, 303, 304
F44 (212), 106

- F60, 191
F121 (9800242), xi, 39, 45, 125, 127,
285, 312
F128, 220, 291
F204, 96, 287
F325 (N3378), 182, 283, 304
F376, 69
G5, 48, 289, 294, 295
G13, 66, 203
G14, 81, 291
G25, 177
G58, 238, 292
G70, xii, 180, 292, 294
G73, xiii, 134, 189, 190, 292
G89, 174, 292, 308
G92, 191, 290, 294, 308
G102, 177, 180
G103 (748; 403A), xi, 113, 114, 115,
243
G112, xi, 137, 139
G152, 99
G162, 215, 290, 295
G185 (CA944), 234, 287, 304
G203, 119, 288
G222, xii, 172
G227, 85, 290
G228, 229
G234, 117, 119, 289, 295, 301
G241, 108, 158, 272, 292
G296, 182
G472, 176
G535, x, 103, 104
G549, 112, 292
G557, 59
G610, xiv, 245, 246
G617, 238, 292
G636, 173, 308
MNB1759 (S1662), 90
MNC332, 242, 284
N3408, xi, 110, 290, 303
TH16, 106

PARIS Musée du Petit

Palais

- 307, 79, 289, 295
336, 155, 291
367, 118, 288

- PARIS *Musée Rodin*
980, 158, 159
- PARIS *Private Collection*
(BA 206350), 119, 291, 295, 304
(BA 206990), 69
(BA 352444), 47
- PARIS *Rothschild Collection*
(BA 206010), 170, 193, 240, 287, 294, 308
- PARMA *Museo Nazionale di Antichità*
C3, 178, 292
- PRAGUE *Museum of Applied Arts*
Z260.1K18, 109
- PROVIDENCE *Rhode Island School of Design*
25.073, 178, 308
25.088, 72
- READING *Reading Museum and Art Gallery*
45.VIII.1, xiv, 255, 256
- ROME *Antiquarium Comunale*
17417, 43
- ROME *Market*
(BA 204573), 48
- ROME *Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*
(BA 203565), 48
438 (50425), 48
866, 166, 294, 303
24247, xxii, 96, 122
48238, xi, 117, 118, 119, 120, 290, 301, 314
50279, 153
50406 (M472), xi, 111, 112, 283
50413 (652), 76, 79
50437 (M555), 102
50462, 193, 240
50511, 202, 292, 303
57912 (57684), xi, 145, 192, 289, 294
64224, 109, 158, 232, 272, 289
- ROME *Museo Torlonia*
(BA 200446), 46, 47, 48, 291
- RUVO *Museo Jatta*
422 (36733), 110, 290
1408, 153, 288
1442, 169, 287, 303, 308
36818 (1093), 199, 288, 294
- SALERNO *Museo Nazionale*
1371 (123A), 212, 290, 295, 309, 312
- SAMOS *Vathy, Museum*
K898, 225
- SAN ANTONIO *Museum of Art*
86.134.77, 169, 289, 294, 308
91.80.1 (91.80G), 96, 284
- SARASOTA *John and Mabel Ringling Museum*
1600.G5, 233, 304
- SCHWERIN *Staatliches Museum*
708, 120, 289
- SÈVRES *Musée Céramique*
217, 169, 173
- ST. PETERSBURG *State Hermitage Museum*
ST1357 (1549), 71
ST1588 (628), 74
ST1670 (644), 67
ST1723, 71
B651 (651), 203
B1621 (740), xiii, 239, 240, 241, 292
627 (ST1538), 140, 291, 295
679 (B1818), xi, 108, 288, 294
734 (ST1721), 193, 240, 287, 308
834, xii, 160, 161, 220
- STUTTGART *Württembergisches Landesmuseum*
65.1, 191
- SYDNEY *Sydney University, Nicholson Museum*
46.52, 123, 284
- SYRACUSE *Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi*
20065, x, 79, 81, 290
21965, xi, 121, 282, 284
22934, 184, 291, 309

- 23508, 206, 217, 293
24114, 216, 217, 291, 294
53237, 142
- TAMPA Museum of Art
86.93, 43
- TARANTO Museo Archeologico Nazionale
6261, 186, 285
52290, 248, 307
Ragusa74, 153
- TARQUINIA Museo Nazionale Tarquiniense
(BA 352439), 200
2989, xi, 131, 132, 290, 294, 295
RC191, 46, 294
RC1063, 69
RC4197, 202, 291, 294, 303
RC7461, 94
- THEBES Archaeological Museum
6151 (R26.84), 74, 282
R22.8 (17080), 175, 288, 294, 308
Θ11491, 253
Θ11570, 253
Θ11701, 253
- THORIKOS Excavation
TC75.274, 216
- TODI Museo Civico
471 (205.575), 189, 292
- TOURS Musée des Beaux-Arts
D.70.6.52, 248
- TÜBINGEN Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Arch. Inst.
29.5481, 259
E114 (S101609), xiii, 203, 290, 303
S1700 (E159), 159
S101294 (D68), xiii, 232, 233, 282, 286, 303, 304
S101343 (E105), 194, 289, 294
S101361, 256
S101525 (E41), 191, 289, 294
S10616 (E39), 246
S10814 (E78), 135, 290, 304
Z158 (7358), 200, 288, 294, 309
- UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI University Art Museum
77.3.112, 200
P116, 272, 273
- VATICAN CITY Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano
(BA 209785), 48
335, 219, 221, 283
413, 73
417 (16449), 194
9103, 218, 303
16509 (16506), 213, 292, 309, 312
16522, 131
16535 (H525), x, 101, 142, 226
16538 (H86), 223
16545, 223, 294
16552, ix, 26, 52, 53, 244, 287
16561, 90, 288
16582, 108, 137, 288, 294, 304
G22, 102
H569 (16541), 158, 159, 202, 231, 290, 294
- VIENNA Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Wien
53a, 199, 290
- VIENNA Kunsthistorisches Museum
152, 173
213, 238, 292
694 (1011), 218, 288
741, 102
782, 168, 292
836, 59, 112
985, 214, 227
1026, 169, 290, 308
1113, 60
1921, 200
1930, 87, 287
3691 (321), xi, 137, 138, 289, 304
3723 (1091), 241
- VITERBO
(BA 10600), 125
- VORONEZH University Museum
105, 219, 287

INDEX OF VASES CITED IN THE TEXT

WARSAW *National Museum*

(BA 204084), 86, 288, 294
 142355 (EXC243), 182, 291, 294, 304,
 309
 142993 (EXC243), 190
 198897, xii, 159, 160, 308

WÜRZBURG *Martin von Wagner Museum* *antikenabteilung*

#, xiii, 206, 218, 307
 218 (L218), 225
 249 (L249), 102

452 (L452), 271
 530 (L530), 203
 L491 (491), 202, 288, 303
 H5387, 159, 291
 HA5697, 151
 L479 (479), 90, 288, 294
 ZA20, 163, 230, 290, 309

ZÜRICH *Market*

(BA 302), 191, 292, 294,
 308

General Index

- Achilles
 and Odysseus in Hades, 115
 and Polyxene, 74
 tending Patroklos, 98
- Achilles, caricatured
 brought by Peleus to Chiron, 271
 fighting Hector, 271
- Aesop
 and Jean de Lafontaine, 315
 physical appearance of, 244
- Aesop, caricatured. *See also*
physiognomy; thinkers;
caricature; fox
 the 'Aesop cup', 244
- Aesop, fables of
Hermes and the sculptor, 135
The dog and the butcher, 58
The old man and Death, 117
- African slave, 198 *See also* *caricature*
- Aineas
 rescuing Anchises and Ascanius, 99
- Aineas, parody of, 224–5. *See also* *satyrs*,
parody of canonical mythological
imagery
- Ajax
 with Cassandra at the
palladion, 99
- Ajax, parody of
 clutching the *palladion*, 153
 with Cassandra at the
palladion, 99–103, 271
- animal choruses, 207
- animals, comic. *See also* *ape; cat; deer; dog;*
donkey; duck; fox; hare; horse; lion;
pig; owl; ram; swan
 and caricature, 272
 and parody of *sparagmos*, 181
 and physiognomy, 243
 and situation comedy, 48–62
 anthropomorphised on a papyrus, 244
- anthropomorphism, 40–1
- ape, 109
- Aphrodite. *See also* *Paris, Judgement of*
 and Hephaistos, 14, 119
 riding a swan, 146
 striking Eros with sandal, 202
 summary of comic scenes, 303
- Aphrodite, parody of
 flying on a phallus-bird, 145
- Apollo
 and Hyacinth, parody of, 145
 and situation comedy, 136
 as a divine child, 137
 averting evil, 38
 mocked, 303
- apotheosis*. *See* *Herakles, parody of*
- apotropaism, 38–40. *See also* *Eye-cups*
- archetypes, comic
 bad king, 122
 drunk women, 75–8
 gossiping women, 72–4
 haughty women, 70–1
 lazy women, 71–2
 powerless figure of authority, 152, 303

- archetypes, comic (*cont.*)
 promiscuous women, 78–81
 sleeping guardian, 82–4
 sleeping hunter, 262
 the cowardly king, 305, *See* *tricked tricksters*
- Aristophanes
 and Old Comedy, 18–19
 and *parabasis*, 12
 and parody, 31
 and slander by name, 18
 and surprise, 29
 and vase-painting, 2, 4, 19
 on women, 63, 68
- Aristophanes, *Acharnians*
 (1076), 276
 (1091), 66
 (210–22), 117
 (67, 1150), 18
 (96, 1211), 276
- Aristophanes, *Assembly of women*
 (1101), 78
 (14–5), 76
 (195–7), 76
 (817–22), 68
- Aristophanes, *Birds*
 (1297), 18
 (1581–694), 125
 (1740), 268
 (61), 38
 (985), 54
- Aristophanes, *Clouds*
 (31), 18
 (1011–20), 118
 (1084–99), 85
 (1390), 248
 (146–7), 248
 (46–52), 71
 (489–91), 57
 (734), 310
- Aristophanes, *Frogs*
 (218), 276
 (542–5), 310
- Aristophanes, *Knights*
 (1030–34), 58
 (1307), 38
 (1400, 1403), 66
 (451–6), 54
 (719), 85
- Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*
 (16–9), 68
 (195–7), 76
 (327–31), 65
 (627), 74
- Aristophanes, *Peace*
 (1228–39), 248
 (32–6), 93
 (790), 105
- Aristophanes, *Ploutos*
 (359), 38
- Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*
 (387), 65
 (393), 74
 (448), 65
 (491–96), 301
 (689–759), 151
 summary, 151
- Aristophanes, *Wasps*
 (1253–5), 64
 (1291), 18
 (1390–91), 65
 (1437), 41
 (493–4), 68
 (497), 65
 (60), 125
 (807–8), 48
 (83), 57
 (836–8), 58
- Aristotle. *See also* *Tractatus Coislinianus*
 as a physiologist, 10
 on gods and scurrility, 276
 on *mimesis*, 31
 on the dithyramb, 207
 on the evil eye, 39
 on the laughable (*to geloion*), 7, 11
 on the laughter of superiority. *See* *superiority, laughter of*
- arming
 parody of, 174–81
 satyrs assisting Dionysos, 174

- Artemis, comic
 as a deer, 133, *See also animals, comic*
askoliasmos, 181, 191
- Athena. *See also Jason; Jason, parody of; Ajax; Ajax, parody of; Paris, Judgement of; Herakles*
 and her owl, parody of, 134
 birth of, 131
 caricatured, 153
 epiphany, parody of, 102
 on corrupted panathenaic amphorae, 132-4, 184
 on panathenaic amphorae, 130-2
promachos, 101
- Athenaeus
 on jesters at parties, 108
 on Parmeniskos mocking a cult statue, 5
- Athenian comic production
 and Old Comedy, 12, 18, 29, 35, 41
 and south Italian vases, 150
 and vases, 306
 performance of, and vases, 208-16
- Athens
 and democracy, 3, 302, 313-15
 and laws against humour, 17
 and pottery production, 3, 21, 23
 and taboos, 6, 11, 24, 28, 29, 305-11
- athletes
 and *kynodesme*, 241
 at palaestra, 241
hoplitodromoi, 47
 on panathenaic amphorae, 130
 parodied by satyrs, 184, 188
 parody of, 242, 261
 stretching, 113
- Augenschale*. *See Eye-cup*
- aulētēs. *See aulos-player*
- aulos-case
 as a nose, 41
 hanging from erect penis, 167
- aulos-player
 and a goose, 60
 and satyr play, 188, 209
 caricatured, 260
- authority, 12, 84, 302, 305
- Bakhtin, 16, 19, 20, 249, 277, 306
 and Bergson, 20
- Bakhtinian. *See Bakhtin*
- bathos, 9
- Baudelaire, 10, 15
- Beazley, J. D.
 and the Beazley archive, xvii, 28
 methodology of, 3, 20, 21, 22
 on cups of type A, 37
 on Eye-cups, 37
 on satyrs stealing Herakles' weapons, 212
- bees, 148-9
- behaviour, improper, 13, 14, 19, 47, 86, 91, 96, 118, 206, 300, 305
- behaviour, proper, 6, 13, 249, 300, 305
- Bellerophon, 103
 parody of, 104, 270
- Bérard, C.
 on bacchants and satyrs, 171
- Bergson, H., 10, 19, 40, 119, 122, 236, 313
- boar, Calydonian, 55, 107
- boar, Erymanthean. *See Herakles*
- Boardman, J.
 on anthropomorphising vases, 40
 on chronology of vases, 24
 on decorative eyes, 38
 on painters' freedom of expression, 297
 on the humour of satyrs, 206
- butcher, 51, *See also mageiros; Aesop, fables of*
 and cat, 72
 and dog, 57
 caricatured, 266
- bystander, 245
- bystanders, satyrs as, 169-71
- calembour visuel*. *See visual pun*
- Cambyzes, laugh of, 5, 29
- Camille, M., 25, 43
- caricature, 4, *See also pygmy; dwarf*
 and African traits, 34, 106, 262, 264, 267, 274, 302
 and apes, 108, 109
 and masks at Kabirion, 254-7
 as a technique, 9
 Cèbe, J.-P. on, 26

- caricature. *See also* *pygmy; dwarf (cont.)*
 definition of, 34
 Melot, M. on, 25
 of a centaur, 111
 of Aesop, 244
 of Ajax, 153
 of an Aithra-Madame, 101
 of Athena, 153
 of Geras, 117
 of Herakles, 110
 of Judgement of Paris, 270
 of Kadmos, 275-6
 of Kephalos, 274
 of Nike, 111
 of Odysseus, 272-4
 of Oedipus, 153
 of Peleus, 272
 of pornai, 78
 of thinkers, 244-8
 carnival. *See Bakhtin; social cohesion;*
 and abusive language, 276-7, 279
 and agriculture, 278
 and *Anthesteria*, 276
 and Bakhtin, 19, 249
 and Demeter, 279
 and Dionysos, 257, 278
 and Notting Hill, 250
 and satyrs, 186
 and the theatre, 277
 annual, 278, 306
 at the Kabirion, 249
 definition of, 249
 functions of, 12
 in situ, 250, 279
 institutionalised, 278
 negative, 313
 positive, 311-13
 the archaeology of, 249-50
 carnivalesque, 276, 279, 306, 311
 cat, comic. *See also animals, comic*
 greedy, 51, 72
 parody of sphinx on column, 232
 centaur
 caricature of, 111
 Chiron the, 93
 Chiron the, caricature of, 271
 drunk, 126
 instead of horses in Herakles' *apotheosis*,
 110
 Pholos the, 122, 159
 chariot
 and satyr play, 216
 and Triptolemos, 216
 and wedding procession, 268
 and wedding procession, parody of,
 268-9
 drawn by centaurs, 110
 drawn by satyrs, 174, 180, 186
 of Herakles' *apotheosis*, 214
 children
 and the *Anthesteria*, 238
 and wicked humour, 61
 Anthesteria, 90
 divine, 135-7
 exposed, 236
 tickled, 11
 Chiron. *See centaur*
 chlamys, 32, 109, 140, 180, 220,
 263, 274
 chronology. *See vases, chronology of*
 Clarke, J., 26
 comic. *See humour; caricature;*
 parody; situation comedy; visual
 puns
 comic relief, 9, 11, 12, 13, 311, 314
 comique, le. *See comic*
 context, of vases. *See vases,*
 context of
 coupe à yeux. *See Eye-cup*
 courtship, heterosexual
 parody of (satyr), 192
 courtship, homosexual
 hare as love-gift, 239
 parody of (dwarf), 240
 parody of (satyr), 193
 cult. *See Kabirion, cult of the; Dionysos,*
 cult of; Demeter, cult of
 hermaic, 137, 182
 hermaic, parody of, 138, 155, 266
 poliadic, 125, 137
 poliadic, parody of, 137, 266
 Cyclops, 227

- dancing
 and Socrates joking, 17
 at carnival, 250
 at symposium, 17, 87, 180
 bull-headed actor, 256
 dwarfs, 236, 237–8, 240
 goats, 109, 232
 in *komos*, 89
 old caricatured lover, 118
 old men in Euripides' *Bacchants*, 258
 parody of, 137, 260, 261, 268
 ram, 166
 satyr players, 209, 210, 211, 215
 satyrs, 173, 192, 209, 212, 216
 satyrs and maenads, 156
 satyrs and maenads (parody of
 Panathenaic iconography), 184
 the pyrrhic, 186
 women at a giant phallus, 79
- Darwin, C., 10
- Dasen, V., 109, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240
- Davidson, J., 85
- defecating, 34, 43, 71, 90, 248
- deformity, 2, 7, 11, 124, 235, 236, 244, 301
- Demeter
 cult of, 137, 248, 251, 252, 276, 278,
 279
Homeric Hymn to, 15, 279
 parody of cult of, 137, 304
- democracy. *See Athens, and democracy;*
freedom of expression; free speech;
parrhēsia
 parody of democratic process, 171–3
- desire, tantalising, 137, 162
- dildoes, 78, 81, 188, 219, 224
- Diomedes, 14, 97
- Diomedes, parody of, 98
- Dionysian. *See Dionysos, cult of*
- Dionysos
 and Ariadne, 156, 169, 202, 206, 209,
 217
 and carnival, 278
 and decorative eyes, 39
 and gigantomachy, 47, 174, 176, 216
 and parody of Panathenaic
 amphorae, 184
 and Return of Hephaistos, 144, 167, 215
 and satyr play, 208, 209, 211, 223
 and satyrs playing, 225
 and the theatre, 212
 and thyrsos, 160
 as a household master, 197, 199, 200,
 202, 205, 217
 as divine child, 137
 as Kabiros, 254, 257, 258, 259
 attributes of, 181
 banqueting, 128
 between decorative eyes carried
 by satyrs, 162
 cult of, 7, 248, 251, 252, 276, 277
 dithyramb of, 137, 207, *See dithyramb,*
parody of
 iconography of, 258
 parody of Jason and Athena, 224
 summary of comic scenes, 303
- dithyramb, 207
- dithyramb, parody of, 137, 140
- dog, 54, 238, 239
- dog, comic. *See also animals, comic*
 and master, 263
 as a bad guard, 50
 as a nose, 41
 as Oedipus, 231
 breaking pots in shop, 56–7
 defecating under cup handle, 43
 disguised as a pig, 137
 greedy, 50, 57, 58, 125, 264
 hunting, 262, 274
 in everyday life, 54–8
- donkey. *See also animals, comic*
 as parody of horse in wedding
 procession, 268
 being carried by satyrs, 186
 drunk, 62
 groomed by satyrs, 198
 oinochoe hanging from
 penis of, 167
 -phallus, 200
 pygmy riding a, 270
 raped by satyr, 228
 Return of Hephaistos,
 in the, 144

- donkey. *See also animals, comic (cont.)*
 satyr riding a, 159
 trying to rape maenad, 162
- Dover, K., 67, 70, 85
- drunkenness. *See Hephaistos, Return of; donkey, comic; horse, comic; behaviour, improper; gluttony; archetypes, comic*
 and apotropaism, 39
 and jumping in kraters, 87
 and urinating in an oinochoe, 48
 and vomiting, 90
 at the komos, 90
 exaggerated, 86
 in *Philogelos*, 86
 of a Scythian, 83
 of centaurs, 126
 of Dionysos, 102
 of Elpenor, 15
 of Herakles, 151, 282
 of husbands returning home, 64
 of satyrs, 159
 of women, 78
 stages of, 86
- duck. *See also animals, comic*
 in a laver, 58–60
- dwarf. *See Pygmies, See also caricature; pygmy*
 accompanying his master, 238–9
 and deformity, 301
 and Pataikoi, 5–6
 arousing laughter, 34
 as a caricatural technique, 265
 as Bellerophon, 104
 at symposium, 260–1
 athlete, 261
 boxing, 241–2
 dancing, 237–8
 female, 77
 glutton, 92–4
 in a surgery, 239–41
 Kerkopes, 123
 overview of, 235–6
 pygmy as, 108, 109
- ephedrismos*, 189, 224
- erastes*, 131, 193, 239
- eromenos*, 102, 131, 193, 239
- esprit*. *See wit*
- Etruria, 22, 297
- Eurymedon, battle, 85
- Eurymedon, vase, 84–6
- Eurystheus. *See Herakles; boar, Erymanthean*
- exaggeration, human
 drinking wine, 87, 90
 eating, 91–3
 promiscuous women, 78–81
 wine drinking. *See drunkenness*
- exaggeration, of satyrs
 drinking wine, 87
 sexual, 162
- eye, evil, 40. *See also Apotropaism*
- Eye-cup, 36–46
 and anthropomorphism, 40–1
 and apotropaism, 38–40
 and corrupted decoration, 41–6
 and eyes as wineskins, 162–3
 overview, 36–8
- fear
 and laughter, 11
 and satyrs, 47
 of authority, 13
 of death and old age, 5, 117, 301
 of disease, 301
 of empowered women, 300
 of Eurystheus, 85
 of exclusion, 300
 of *hybris*, 95
 of Paris, 232
 of Peleus, 96
 of social rules, 5
 of the other, 301–2
 of the unknown, 302
- foreigners, mocked, 81–6
 ethnic jokes, 17, 302
- fox. *See also animals, comic*
 and Aesop, 244
 caught in a trap, 52, 220

- greedy, 57
 hunt, parody of, 262
 in a pantry, 50
 Teumessian, 274
 framing
 and framed, 30, 45
 and visual pun, 46, 163
 free speech, 314, *See also* democracy
 freedom of expression, i, xv, 2, 3, 251, 295,
 296, *See also* democracy
 Freud, S., 9, 10, 11, 30
 games, 188–92, *See also* askoliasmos;
 ephepdrismos; knucklebones; kottabos;
 morra; spinning tops
 acrobatic, 189
 at symposia, 17
 Olympic, 188
 panathenaic, 130
 panathenaic, parody of, 186
 genre, 2, 6, 9, 24, 25, 30, 124, 150
 and technique and mechanism,
 9–10
 Geras. *See* caricature; Herakles; youth
 and old age
 and Herakles, 117–20
 gesture, as non-verbal communication,
 29
 and the orator's sweeping hand
 movement, 172
 arguing, 137, 159
 conversing, 73, 74, 202, 231, 244
 denial, 242
 drunkenness, 62
 emptied of its original meaning,
 121
 fear and modesty, 64
 invitation, 194, 242
 mourning, 71
 non-demonstrative, 172
 of the open hand in discussion,
 119
 pain and panic, 149
 parody of a known, 193, 241
 pinching nose, 70, 71
 pleading, 60
 pointing, 45
 receiving, 193
 supplication, 119, 139
 supplication or prayer, 182
 surprise and delight, 86
 surprise and supplication, 85
 gods, comic. *See* Apollo; Aphrodite;
 Athena; Demeter; Dionysos;
 Hephaistos; Hera; Hermes; Iris;
 Poseidon Zeus
 gorgoneion, 37, 38, 45, 46
 Green, J., 150, 207, 208
 hare. *See also* animals, comic; courtship,
 homosexual
 Hector, caricatured, 271
 Hector's ransom, parody of, 25, 103
 Hedreen, G., 27, 156, 310
 Helen, 96, 97
 and Menelaus, 101, 151
 and Menelaus as a paradigm
 of love, 142
 and Menelaus as a paradigm of love,
 parody of, 226
 and Menelaus, parody of, 101,
 271
 Hephaistos. *See also* donkey; Hera; tricked
 trickster
 and Thersites, 14–15
 as the Olympian jester, 14
 lemnian cult of, 254
 Return of, 28, 143–4, 156, 167, 195,
 211, 214, 216, 227, 303
 summary of comic scenes, 303
 temple of, 5
 ugliness of, 119
 Hera. *See also* Paris, Judgement of
 caricatured, 270
 quarrels with Zeus, 14, 128
 treasury of, 121
 tricked by Hephaistos, 143–4
 Herakles
 and Antaios, 114
 and Busiris, 302

Herakles (*cont.*)

- and Geras, 117–20, 314
- and Kerberos, parody of, 96
- and Kerkopes, 123–4
- and Omphale, 111
- and Omphale, parody of, 111
- and satyr play, 209
- and Stymphean birds, 107
- and the Erymanthean boar, 28, 35, 85, 120–3, 144, 159, 299, 305
- and the Nemean lion, parody of, 111
- apotheosis of, parody of, 111
- as a heavy drinker, 125–8, 151, 197
- as a paradigm of the hero, 109
- as a paradigm of the hero, parody of, 219, 220
- as a paradigm of youth, 301
- at Hesperides, 33, 220
- at Hesperides, parody of, 33, 220
- between decorative eyes, 162
- caricatured, 110
- character traits of, 110
- comic scenes with, 109–20
- folding his lion skin, 112
- glutton, 124–5, 299
- holding the sky, parody of, 152
- in comic sculpture, 311
- on stage, 275
- overview of, 109
- pestered by satyrs, 307
- robbed by satyrs, 72, 212–14, 304
- satyrs, captured by, 204
- summary of comic scenes, 282, 311
- herm. *See hermaic pillar*
- hermaic pillar, 115, 182, 279
 - overview of the, 137
 - parody of, 251
 - parody of the, 4, 5, 137, 155, 182, 184, 266, 267
 - summary of comic scenes, 304
- Hermes. *See also Paris, Judgement of; cult; hermaic pillar*
- and Papposilenos, 156
- and Perseus, 219
- as an adult kleptomaniac, 154
- Homeric Hymn to*, 15

- in parody of panathenaic iconography, 133
- in parody of poliadic sacrifice, 137
- infant, 108, 135–7
- leaning on caduceus like a cane, 119
- overview of, 135–6
- pretending to be a hermaic pillar, 155
- reclining on a ram instead of a kline, 233
- robbed by satyrs, 233
- satyr mimicking, 232, 233
- summary of comic scenes, 303–5

Hermokopidai, 18

- hero. *See Ajax; Bellerophon; Diomedes; Hector; Herakles; Jason; Kadmos; Kephalos; Menelaus; Odysseus; Paris; Peleus; Perseus; satyrs, parody of canonical mythology*

paradigm, 109

satyr mimicking a, 33

Herodotus

- on Cambyses' laugh, 5
- on making jokes, 16
- on Peisistratos, 310
- on pygmies, 105
- on the dithyramb, 207

hetaira, 66–7. *See also women*

ho pais kalos, parody of, 90

Homeric epic, 14, 15, 43, 54, 58, 115, 116, 138, 227

honour, 14, 142, 305, 306

hoplite, parody of, 47

horse. *See also animals, comic*

drunk, 61

-phallus, 61

humor. *See humour*

humores, 7

humour. *See also visual humour; to geloion;*

- genre; bathos; parody; caricature; situation comedy; Philogelos; Aristophanes; Tables 1–2*

aggressive, 18

and Bergson, 19

and carnival, 251

and degradation, 144

and exposure, 4

and jokes, 17

- and Old Comedy, 18, 19
 and Proteus, 1
 and social cohesion, 280
 and the laughter of superiority, 13–16
 and transgression, 2, 12–13
 archaeology of, xvii
 at the symposium, 16
 Athenian, 5
 Boeotian, 276
 comic relief, 13
 Corinthian, 3
 dangers in the study of, 5, 6
 Egyptian, 244
 enhanced, 122
 institutionalised, 252, 279
 intention of, 86
 Laconian, 3
 laws against, 17
 methodological problems of, xvii
 on vases, 2
 regional, 280
 Roman, 26–7
 scatological, 19
 social function of, 2, 16–20
 terminology of, 2
 theories, 2, 7–12
 verbal, 2
 hunting, *See chlamys, See boar, Calydonian*
 dogs, 55
 overview, 173
 parody of, 32, 220, 261–3, 274
 Hyacinth. *See Apollo*
 hyperbole
 definition of. *See also exaggeration*
 iconography
 and linguistics, 85
 and *paraiconography*, 151
 and visual conventions, 297
 and visual immediacy, 298
 comparative methodology of, 28
 conventions of, 30
 language of, 29
 repetition and *hapax* in, 298–9
 traditional, 206
 vs textual evidence, 63, 207, 211
 ideal, 93, 236
 idealised, 117
Iliad. *See Homeric epic*
Ilioupersis, 99
 parody of, 103, 271
 infibulation, 239, *See also kynodesme*
 inscriptions, 25, 130
 and the evil eye, 39
 at Kabirion, 249, 250, 253, 258, 259,
 278
 Chalcidian, 37
 Latin, 26, 314
 inscriptions, comic, 56, 84, 90, 120, 242,
 314
Nikosthenes epoiesen, 166
 inversion, 19, 20, 35, 49, 111, 153,
See visual humour, comic
mechanisms
 principle of and Kerkopes, 123–4
 Iris
 and an overview of winged
 goddesses, 142
 greedy, 142
 lustful, 140–2
 summary of comic scenes, 305
 irony, 12, 13, 124
 Jason, 224
 Jason, parody of, 223
 jokes. *See Philogelos; humour, and jokes;*
foreigners, and ethnic jokes
 Aristotle on, 243
 Herodotus on making, 16
 Hesiod on, 68
 of Solon at Ostia, 27
 on style and performance, 299
 phallic, 188, 304
 Kabirion. *See inscriptions*
 and agricultural festivals, 278
 and Athenian festivals, 276–7
 and carnival, 249–50
 and Kabiros, 254
 and the theatre, 251, 277–8
 caricature and masks at the, 254–7
 Dionysian cult at the, 257–60

- Kabirion. *See* *inscriptions (cont.)*
 parodies of daily life activities at the, 260–9
 parodies of mythological scenes at the, 269–76
 parody of a *mageiros* at the, 266
 parody of a wine merchant at the, 263
 parody of athletics at the, 261
 parody of Bellerophon at the, 270
 parody of hunting at the, 261
 parody of Judgement of Paris at the, 270
 parody of Kadmos at the, 274–6
 parody of Kephalos at the, 274
 parody of marriage at the, 268–9
 parody of Odysseus at the, 272–4
 parody of Peleus bringing Achilles to Chiron at the, 271
 parody of pygmies at the, 269
 parody of slaves at the, 263
 parody of the hermaic pillar cult at the, 266
 parody of the *Ilioupersis* at the, 271
 parody of the symposium at the, 260
 sanctuary, 249
 the site of the, 252–3
 traditional views of the, 250
 vases, 253–4
- Kassandra. *See* *Ajax*
- Kephalos, 141
 parody of, 274
- Kerkopes, 123–4. *See also* *Herakles*
 in Lucanian vase-painting, 153
- Keuls, E., 25, 66, 166, 231, 304
- klismos*, 60, 72, 192, 200, 205, 230, 274
- knucklebones, 190
- komast*, 39, 48, 92, 94, 134, 144, 189, 202, 233, 238
- kōmos*, 47, 159, 188, 192, 233, 260
 overview of the, 89
- kottabos*, 75, 180, 224
- Kurke, L., 66
- kynodesme*, 239
- laughter. *See also* *humour*; Bergson, *H.*;
 superiority, laughter of; *Tables* 1–2
 and *Lachkultur*, 91
 and Plato, 18
 and relief, 11
 and social reprimand, 20
 and surprise, 29
 and the laughable, 8
 anthropology of, 27
 Aristotle on, 10, 124
 as a physiological response, 2, 10
 at the banquet, 16
 dangerous, 10
 Freud on, 9, 11
 in Greek, 7
 Kant on, 11
 rituals of, 16
- laughter, unquenchable, 14, 144
- lion
 circling Peleus' tree, 96
 fountain spout, 74
 Nemean, 111
 Nemean, parody of, 111
- lion skin, 111
 Herakles folding neatly his, 112
- lion, comic
 as a shield device, 47
 bugged by an ass, 27
- Lissarrague, F., 17, 27, 45, 86, 87, 162, 169, 176, 191, 200, 202, 214, 244, 310
- lover. *See* *erastes*; *eromenos*;
courtship
- machaira*. *See* *butcher*
- mageiros*, 57, 266. *See* *butcher*
- marriage
 Hesiod on, 68
 of Dionysos and Ariadne, 156
 procession, 268
 procession, parody of, 268–9
- Martens, D., 40, 41
- masturbating, 43, 78, 169, 194, 310
- Menelaus. *See* *Ilioupersis*; *Helen*
- Moret, J.-M., 217, 231
- morra*, 190
- mule. *See* *donkey*
- music. *See* *aulos*

- narrative
and visual immediacy, 297–8
synoptic, 298
Nikosthenes epoiesen, 166
- Oakley, J., 75
- Odysseus
and Achilles in Hades, 115
and Polyphemos, parody of, 227
caricatured, 153
caricatured at Kabirion, 272–4
in Euripides' *Cyclops*, 157
laughing at Thersites, 14, 314
mocking Elpenor, 15
- Odyssey*. See *Homeric epic*
- oinochoe, used as a piss-pot, 48
- Old Comedy. See *Athenian comic production*
- olisboi*. See *dildoes*
- Onesimos, and physiognomy, 243
- onlooker. See *bystander*
- Osborne, R., 304
- over-interpretation. See also *Cambyzes*,
laughter of
in stand-alone studies, 26
- owl, comic. See also *animals, comic; Athena*
- Pais, and Kabiros. See *Kabirion*
- palaestra, 47, 115, 173, 188, 239, 240, 241, 245
- palladion*. See *Ajax; Ajax, parody of; Athena*
- panathenaic amphorae
canonical iconography of, 130–2
corrupted iconography of, 132–4, 184
- papyrus, 244
- parabasis*, 12
- paradigm
of love, 142
of the hero, parody of the, 220
- parasite, 16, 247
- Paris, Judgement of, 96–7
parody of the, 232, 271
- parody. See *Aineas; Ajax; animals, comic; Aphrodite; Aristophanes; arming; Athena; athletes; Bellerophon; bystanders; cat, comic; chariot; courtship; cult; dancing; Demeter; democracy; Diomedes; Dionysos; fox; games; gesture; Hector's ransom; Helen; Herakles; hermaic pillar; Hermes; ho pais kalos; hoplite; hunting; Ilioupersis; Kabirion; lion, Nemean; marriage; Odysseus; paradigm; Paris, Judgement of; pig; Priam; pygmy; Scythian; sphinx; thinkers; visual humour*
- and category problems, 9
- parody (general)
verbal, definition of, 31
visual, definition of, 31
- parrhēsia*, 314, 315. See also *freedom of expression; democracy; free speech*
- Peleus
and Thetis, 42
as a comic coward, 96
caricatured, 271
- pentathlon, 130, 186, 188
- phallus
as a battling ram, 79
-bird, 79, 81, 241
-bird and dildo, 81
column as a, 196
cult, 79, 277
-donkey, 200
erect, between decorative eyes, 41
erect, of hermaic pillar, 137
fake (stage), 151
-horse, 61
-lance, 308
reign of the, 166
-staff, 175
-swan, 145, 192
wine jug hanging from, 228
- pharmakon*, 90
- Philogelos*, 6, 17, 79, 86, 91, 246
- philosopher. See *thinkers*
- phlyax*, 111, 150, 151, 275
- Physiognomika*, 243
- physiognomy, 243–8
Aristotle on, 243

- physiognomy (*cont.*)
 definition of, 243
- pig. *See also animals, comic*
 as a caricatured boar, 263
 hunted, 176
 sacrifice, parody of, 137
- Plato, xvii, 10
 and laws against laughter, 13
 humour of, 13
 on abuse, 17
 on *bacchants*, 170
 on laughter of superiority. *See superiority, laughter of*
- playfulness. *See also games*
 and *spoudo-geloios*, 16
 of infant Hermes, 136
 of painters, 164
 of parasites, 16
 of satyrs, 27, 157, 189, 211
- pleasure
 in mocking, 13
 in public exposure, 306
 in punishment, 149
 individual, 87
- Pomeroy, S., 63
- pornē*, 66–7. *See also women; hetaira*
 caricatured, 78
- Poseidon, pestered by satyrs, 218
- Priam, 99
 caricatured, 271
 parody of, 103
- provenance. *See vases, context of*
- pun, verbal. *See verbal pun*
- pun, visual. *See visual pun*
- pygmy, 104–9
 as a dwarf, 108, 153
 caricatured, 269–70
 definition of the, 105, 236
 Herodotus on the, 105
 overview of the, 105–6
- ram, comic. *See also animals, comic;*
dancing
 as a *kline*, 234
- ransom of Hector. *See Hector's ransom*
- rejuvenation, 116, 223
- relief. *See comic relief; laughter*
- repetition, 20, 298–9
- Return of Hephaistos. *See Hephaistos*
- reversal, 19, 212, 249, 277, 313, 315
- rider, 173
 parody of, 159, 162, 180, 192
 wineskin, 180, 186
- safe
 space, 11, 17
 space of the symposium, 16
 space of the theatre, 5, 18, 306
 to laugh, 11
- safety-valve, of the carnival, 12, 249
- satyr (canonical imagery)
 at Dionysos' wedding, 156
 pouring wine, 158
 pursuing maenad, 156, 160
- satyr (general)
 further discussion, 305–11
 physical and moral nature of, 156–8
- satyr (gluttony)
 defending his amphorae, 160
 jumping headfirst into a krater, 87
 stealing a krater from under a deer, 160
 with drunken traits, 159
- satyr (parody of canonical daily life imagery)
 and religious cult, 184
 and the *sparagmos* of a wineskin, 181
 as a bystander, 173, 183
 as a hunter and warrior, 174–81
 as a merchant, 195
 as a servant and slave, 198–205
 as an artisan, 198
 as an athlete, 184–8
 as an orator, 171–3
 courtship, 192–4
 games, 188–92
 overview of the, 169–71
- satyr (parody of canonical mythological imagery)
 pestering heroes and gods, 216–19

- pestering heroes and gods, Amymon, 218
- pestering heroes and gods, Dionysos and Ariadne, 218
- pestering heroes and gods, Hephaistos. *See also Hephaistos, Return of*
- pestering heroes and gods, Herakles, 212–14
- pestering heroes and gods, Iris, 218
- pestering heroes and gods, Poseidon, 218
- pestering heroes and gods, Prometheus, 211
- pestering heroes and gods, Triptolemos, 216
- pretending to be a hero or a god, 219–34
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Aineas, 225
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Herakles, 219–21
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Hermes, 232–4
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Jason, 223
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Menelaus, 178, 226
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Odysseus, 228
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Oedipus, 231
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Pelias, 222
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Perseus, 221
- pretending to be a hero or a god, Thebans, 230
- satyr (sexual exaggeration of the), 160–2
- satyr (visual puns and misused objects)
- raping an amphora, 169
 - with aulos-case hanging from erect phallus, 167
 - with jug hanging from erect donkey's phallus, 166
- satyr (visual puns), 162–9
- carrying decorative eyes, 162
 - holding decorative ivy, 164
 - raping a framing figure, a sphinx, 163
- satyr play
- Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, 184
 - and *aulētēs*, 188
 - and *bacchants*, 171
 - and comic relief, 13
 - and parody, 188, 206
 - and 'real' satyrs, 186, 188
 - and signs of drama on vases, 208
 - and vases, 207, 216
 - Aristas' *Palaistra*, 188
 - Euripides' *Cyclops*, 157
 - inspired by, 103
 - language of, 31
 - on vases, 211
 - overview of, 207–8
- satyr, canonical imagery
- dancing, 166
 - making wine, 197
- Schachter, A., 252, 253, 258
- Schäfer, A., 17, 90
- Schauenburg, K., 84
- Scythian, 83
- Scythian, parody of a, 82
- shame-culture. *See honour*
- Shapiro, H. A., 117, 120, 134, 193, 194
- shield
- and visual pun, 45
 - of Athena, 102, 131, 134
 - of Kouretes, 149
- shield device, and visual puns, 48
- signature, of painters. *See inscriptions*
- Simon, E., 38, 184, 188, 211, 213, 218, 230
- slave
- and African traits, 263–4
 - and master during carnival, 277
 - and prostitutes, 66
 - and the masturbating satyr, 78
 - and wealthy women, 64
 - and women's status, 64
 - dwarf, 239
 - goes shopping, 68

- slave (*cont.*)
 satyr pretending to be a, 198–205
 with cropped hair, 75
 Snodgrass, A., 298
 social cohesion, 299–315, *See also* carnival;
democracy; freedom of expression
 social justice, 299, *See also* authority;
reversal; social cohesion; tricked
tricksters
 Socrates. *See also* Plato
 and irony, 12, 13, 124
 in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 57, 248
 making jokes in Xenophon's *Symposium*,
 17
 mocked by Plato, 14
 on Daidalos' statues, 40
 on the body, 245
 on the evil eye, 39
 ridicules Hippias the sophist, 14
 sophist. *See* thinkers
 South-Italian vase-painting. *See also*
paraiconography; phlyax; Taplin, O.;
Trendall, A. D.
 inspired by dramatic performance, 150–2
 visual humour in, 152–6
 sphinx
 and Oedipus, parody of, 231
 and the Thebans, parody of, 229
 as a framing figure, 163, 231
 caricatured, 153
 spinning tops, 304
spoudo-geloios, 16
 stereotype. *See* archetypes, comic
 subversion, principle of, 12
 superiority, laughter of, 13–16
 Sutton, D. F., 29, 31, 126, 195, 207, 211,
 213, 217, 222
 swan. *See also* animals, comic
 as phallus-bird, 145, 192
 boy playing with a, 60
 symmetria, 236
 symposium. *See also* Xenophon
 and caricatured banqueters, 255
 as a communal act, 87
 as a safe space, 16–17
 dogs at, 58
 dwarf at a, 238
 hetaira at, 78
 literature on, 86
 wife drinking on the way to a, 75
 Taplin, O., 150, 151
 theatre. *See also* safe
 and carnival, 311
 and the democratic process, 313
 and vases, 19, 156, 212, 217, 231
 as a mirror of society, xviii, 18
 as a safe space, 5, 18, 306
 Dionysia and Lenaea, 277
 Dionysos, god of the, 278
 Kabirion, 248, 251
 Thesmophoria, 278, 279
 in Aristophanes, 151
 Thetis. *See* Peleus
 thinkers. *See also* physiognomy; Aesop
 caricatured, 244–8
 Thucydides, 85, 304
 to geloion, 7
 Tractatus Coislinianus, 29, 122
 overview of the, 13
 Trendall, A. D., 150
 tricked tricksters
 Eurystheus and the Erymanthean boar,
 120–3
 Kerkopes, 123–4
 The Return of Hephaistos, 143–4
 Triptolemos, 217
 Triptolemos, pestered by satyr, 216
 Troilos, 74
 Trojan War. *See* Ilioupersis
 urinating, 48, 90
 vases
 and connoisseurship, 20–1
 and fashion, 293–6
 chronology of, 23–4
 context of, and market, 21–3
 verbal humour. *See* humour, verbal; jokes
 verbal pun, definition of, 30

Vickers, M., 21

viewer

- addressed by a figure, 84, 86, 134, 148, 169, 203
- and eyes, 45
- and narrative, 298
- and situation comedy, 53
- and surprise, 295, 297
- and the incongruous, 58
- and the vase, 188, 281
- disorientation of the, 46
- of vases and plays, 306

viewer, ancient, 29, 31, 39, 43

visual humour, 4, 6

- and caricature, 33-4
- and dramatic performance, 152
- and immediacy, 297-8
- and situation comedy, 35
- and social cohesion, 299-313
- and visual puns and parody, 30-3
- comic mechanisms of, 29-30
- methodology in the study of, 28-9
- painters of, 282-93
- past scholarship on, 24-7
- repetition in, and style of, 298-9
- visual conventions in, 297

visual pun, 5, 30-3, *See also visual humour; Eye-cup*

- and corrupted imagery, 48
- and satyrs, 162-9
- and shift, 30
- further discussion on the, 297
- medieval, 25
- of a dog as a nose, 41

vomiting, 90

Webster, T. B. L., 134, 207, 208, 211, 270, 275

wedding. *See marriage*

wine. *See also drunkenness*

- merchant, caricatured, 263
- mixed with water, 22
- production, 197
- unmixed, 87, 158, 159, 306

wit, 7, 14, 25, 41

women

- and segregation, 64
- modesty, 64
- 'respectable', 62

women, comic. *See also phallus*

- drunk, 75-8
- gossiping, 72-4
- haughty, 70-1
- lazy, 71-2
- portly, 68, 77
- promiscuous, 78-81

Xenophon, 63

Kynegetikon, 55

Memorabilia, 92

Oeconomicus, 63, 64, 66

Symposium, 16, 17, 243, 247

youth

ho pais kalos, 90

youth and old age, 115, 116, *See Geras*

Zeus

- and birth of Athena, 131
- and Leda, 147
- as a divine child, 149
- bourgeois, 128
- laughs at cunning Hermes, 15
- laughs at punishment of Prometheus, 14
- quarrels with Hera, 14
- refusing to be judge, 96
- temple of, 124, 311

